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EHUD OLMERT: EBAN AND I Page 9 BACK TO BASIC Magazine Page 6 BIRAM AND IKRIT - AN END IN SIGHT? Page 6 GENTLE ART Magazine Page 10 AT THE COURT OF OVADIA Page 5

Hurvitz empire collapses

By PINHAS LANDAU and KEN SCHACHTER Jerusalem Post Reporters

The \$40 million-plus bankruptcy of Jonathan and Yoav Hurvitz, sons of Minister-without-Portfolio Yigael Hurvitz, is viewed in financial circles as the result of poor banking as much as poor management.

The Hurvitz brothers' empire, which extended from real estate to agricultural enterprises and financial activity in the non-bank or "grey" market, was put into the hands of a court-appointed liquidator yesterday, at the request of Bank Leumi, the brothers' main creditor. His brief covers Yaviv Properties (1980) Ltd., Yaviv Trade and Investments Ltd., and Oren Buildings and Development Ltd., a public company quoted on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange.

Tel Aviv District Court Judge Aryeh Hagin, responding to Leumi's lawyers' requests, also appointed the liquidator of the companies, attorney Israel Kantor, to act as receiver for the brothers' personal assets, and issued an order prohibiting them from leaving the country.

Yigael Hurvitz was finance minister in the government of Menachem Begin. The Hurvitz family owns a 55 per cent interest in Oren Building and apparently has a controlling interest in Yaviv Properties and Yaviv Trade



Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone plays with the pigeons in the Piazza San Marco in Venice yesterday after the close of the seven-nation summit. (AFP)

Biton: 'PLO recognizes Israel'

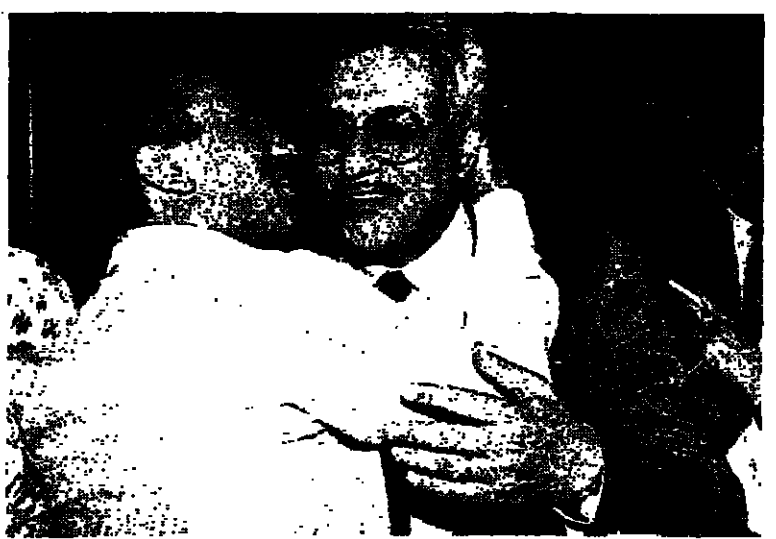
Jerusalem Post Staff and agencies

After his first meeting with a PLO delegation in Budapest yesterday, MK Charlie Biton told a Gali Zahal interviewer that the five PLO representatives had recognized Israel. The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality MK said he expected a warm welcome when the 21-member Israeli delegation return home from Hungary with a signed document to that effect.

Top PLO leader Abu Abbas, who attended the Budapest meeting, said that the PLO delegation gave its "complete backing" to Biton's statement that the Israeli delegation recognizes the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and that a Palestinian state should be set up alongside Israel.

But the Abu Nidal terrorist organization immediately condemned the Hungarian peace organization that sponsored the meeting between the Israeli left-wingers and the PLO officials.

"Our movement strongly condemns these traitorous meetings and warns its organizers and sponsors," said a statement signed by the Fatah Revolutionary Council led by Sabri



MK Charlie Biton greets Abu Mazen (right), member of the PLO executive committee, in Budapest yesterday. (AFP)

Al-Banna (Abu Nidal). The statement, issued in Beirut, did not specify the warnings. Al-Banna, who is the most wanted terrorist in the U.S. and Europe, has also been expelled from the PLO.

Meanwhile, in Jerusalem, Likud MK Pinhas Goldstein yesterday asked Attorney-General Yosef Harish to prosecute the delegation.

The Justice Ministry spokesman said last night that the possibility of prosecution under the law banning meetings with PLO representatives had not been aired in the attorney-general's office.

Wage talks stymied

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The government-Histadrut wage negotiations for a public sector wage agreement for 1987/88 took a turn for the worse yesterday. Treasury chief negotiator Hillel Dudai spent a fruitless two hours at Histadrut headquarters in Tel Aviv trying to persuade secretary-general Yisrael Kessar and trade union department head Haim Haberfeld to accept the government position against an increase in gross wages at the national level. The government is prepared for an adjustment to net income, through changes in the income-tax bracket structure.

The Histadrut heads stood firm on their demand that the government grant an across-the-board wage rise.

Third term appears certain

Thatcher is back in

By DAVID HOROVITZ Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON. - As a "cautiously optimistic" Margaret Thatcher left 10 Downing Street late last night for her Finchley constituency, exit polls conducted around the country were predicting that her Conservative Party would be returned to power, albeit with a reduced majority.

The biggest ever exit poll in Britain, conducted by Independent Television among 20,000 voters, suggested that the Conservatives' overall majority in the House of Commons would be cut to 68 seats, with the Conservatives winning 359 seats, Labour 243 and the Alliance 24.

A BBC poll, however, showed the Conservative overall majority cut to 26 seats with the Conservatives on 338, Labour on 261 and the Alliance on 26.

Thatcher, smiling and waving as she left Downing Street, would not comment on the polls, but said she was feeling fine and "cautiously optimistic."

Labour leader Neil Kinnock, off to see the votes being counted in his Islwyn constituency, told reporters: "We are going to do well here and we're going to do well nationally."

Labour leaders were overjoyed by the BBC poll with John Cunningham stating that Labour had fought a wonderful campaign and that they were going to do "very well indeed."

But Employment Secretary Lord Young pool-pooled the results of the BBC poll, pointing out that it was out of tune with all other pre-election predictions. He also dismissed talk of a reduced majority bringing opposition within the Conservative Party to Thatcher's continued leadership.

Alliance leader David Owen said that his party had run "a very successful campaign," adding that "if we deprive the Tories of an overall victory then that will be a success."

But it seems clear that the Alliance's hope of holding power in a hung Parliament have been dashed and that despite winning almost a quarter of the vote cast nationwide it has again failed to transfer this support into seats at Westminster.

In constituencies around the country vote counters were battling to be the first to announce a final result, and the floods of results was expected to begin at about 1 a.m. Israel time.

It seems clear, however, from the large majority of seats given to the Conservatives in the exit poll, and the 9 per cent majority by which they were said to be leading Labour that Thatcher's tenure at No. 10 Downing Street, and that Kinnock's dream of



Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher tries to stop questions from reporters waiting outside her local polling station in Westminster after she cast her ballot in the British general elections. (Reuters)



Dr. David Owen, SPD leader, and Liberal leader David Steel (Kinnock photo, page 2). (AFP)

putting an end to eight years of Thatcherism has not been fulfilled this time.

Thatcher, whose 1979 victory made her Europe's first woman prime minister, and her husband

BULLETIN 1 A.M.

In the first results of the 1987 British general election the Conservatives held the seat of Torbay with a majority of 8,820. Rupert Allison became the first MP returned to the House of Commons, and his share of the vote, 29,029, actually represented an increase of 1 per cent on the Conservative showing last time.

On the basis of that result alone, the BBC was last night already revising poll estimates upwards, predicting that the Conservative majority might in fact be greater than the 26 seats they had earlier suggested.

The revised BBC poll gave the Conservatives 348 seats, Labour 252 and the Alliance 26, giving the Conservatives an overall majority of 46.

Finchley in North London, which she represents in Parliament.

The party leaders were among 2,327 candidates in the 650 districts across England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland.

A gas station was the polling place at Long Newton in Gloucestershire near the country home of Prince Charles, heir to the throne, and his wife Princess Diana.

They did not use it. Royalty, lunatics, convicts and hereditary peers may not vote in Britain.

Alliance leader David Owen was one of the first at the polling stations yesterday, arriving at his Devon station before it had even opened, and telling reporters after he had cast his vote that he would "rather be fishing."

Liberal leader David Steel and Labour's confident Neil Kinnock voted later in the morning, and Thatcher, resplendent in Tory blue and pearls, cast her vote at a polling station in the Westminster constituency, behind Buckingham Palace.

Looking rather drained but extremely determined, Thatcher said that she had "a hope, and a belief" that she was going to win the election.

London's financial community is certainly on her side. City insiders said yesterday that, if Kinnock were to win, there would be "an explosion to make big bang look very puny indeed."

Much of the national press also came out strongly behind the Tories yesterday morning. The Sun banner headline was, "Three times a lady", while the Express urged: "If you really do care, vote for Maggie."

Once again, the Daily Mirror was the lone champion of Labour's cause, running a picture of Kinnock with the headline: "You know he's right - chuck her out."

Shamir's trip Africa mystery tour

By BENNY MORRIS Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Seventy-two hours before Prime Minister Shamir's scheduled Sunday night departure for a tour of Central and West Africa, it was unclear to Israeli officials what countries the prime minister would be visiting and in what order. Indeed, there was a growing sense of exasperation in Jerusalem.

Last night, an Associated Press report from Kinshasa, basing itself on a source in the Israeli Embassy there, said that Shamir would be coming to Zaire for a meeting with President Mobutu Sese Seko on Tuesday. But in Jerusalem, officials were still uncertain about Zaire, the last word from the Zairean government being that Mobutu would be in Khartoum, Moputu or Belgium next week and, therefore, unavailable for a meeting. Shamir has made clear his unwillingness to visit Zaire without meeting Mobutu.

Officials in Jerusalem, however, suggested that there is a strong possibility that Shamir's West African tour would start in Togo, which on Wednesday announced that it was re-establishing relations with Israel.

If the Togo visit takes place, Shamir will be hard-pressed to find time to fit in Zaire before he sets out on the next leg of his tour, which is Cameroon. After Cameroon, Shamir is scheduled to visit Liberia for two days before coming home. Unless, that is, the order of the visits can be reshuffled at the last moment to fit in Zaire, if it finally gives the green light.

53 killed as Afghan rebels down airliner

ISLAMABAD. - Anti-communist guerrillas shot down a passenger plane in southern Afghanistan yesterday killing 53 people, the official Kabul Radio reported.

The radio, monitored in neighbouring Pakistan, said the plane was hit by U.S.-made Stinger missiles during a domestic flight from the southern province of Zabul to the capital, Kabul.

The plane had a total of 55 people aboard. The two survivors were injured, the radio said. The dead included the crew members, 10 women and 16 children, the report added.

Meanwhile, Communist Party officials in Kabul have removed a top party leader who had been a close political associate of former Afghan leader Babrak Karmal.

The official Soviet news agency said on Wednesday that Anahita Ratebzad was removed from the politburo, the party's ruling body, at her own wish. The action came during a meeting of the party's central committee.

Ratebzad was one of the closest allies of Karmal, who was installed as Communist Party leader when the Soviet Union intervened in Afghanistan in 1979.

CITY OF VIENNA is anxious to trace contemporary diaries, etc. reflecting conditions in Austria and the lives of Austrians during the years 1938-1945. This would be published in a permanent record of this period to be prepared by "Edition Wien." If you have material which you would be prepared to make available for the realization of this important project, please write to: Ideenagentur Austria (IDEA), A-1010 Vienna, Austria-Europe, OpernRing 1/R/III, the contact address for Edition Wien, who will contact you by return mail. Thank you for your help and confidence. Helmut Zilk Mayor of the City of Vienna/Austria

HAROLD LEVY ז"ל The family of Jewish Youth Study Groups in Israel mourn for their teacher, guide and friend

EMUNAH WOMEN OF AMERICA announces The Dedication of the Yossi Berger Holocaust Study Center July 7, 1987, 10th of Tamuz 5747, 4:30 p.m. at the Emunah Women of America Community College Derech Beit Lechem, corner Rivka St., Baka, Jerusalem. Our members and friends are invited to attend. For further information 02-662468, 26 Ben Maimon Ave., Jerusalem.

To the American Zionist Fraternity (Bnai Zion) New York Congratulations on your 72nd CONGRESS May it be both fruitful and successful Kupat Holim Meuhedet Israel

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AMSTERDAM	8	4	16	48	61	Cloudy
BIRMINGHAM	9	4	16	48	61	Cloudy
CHICAGO	11	5	19	49	66	Cloudy
COPENHAGEN	9	4	15	49	59	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	7	4	15	45	59	Cloudy
GENEVA	8	4	16	43	63	Cloudy
HILSON	8	4	16	43	63	Cloudy
HONG KONG	23	17	27	73	81	Cloudy
JERUSALEM	10	5	17	50	63	Cloudy
LESSON	12	5	21	54	70	Cloudy
LONDON	8	4	16	43	63	Cloudy
MADRID	10	5	17	50	63	Cloudy
MONTREAL	12	5	21	54	70	Cloudy
NEW YORK	28	17	39	82	102	Cloudy
OSLO	10	5	17	50	63	Cloudy
PARIS	10	5	17	50	63	Cloudy
SAO PAULO	13	8	20	55	68	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	10	5	17	50	63	Cloudy
TOKYO	17	10	24	63	75	Cloudy
TORONTO	10	5	17	50	63	Cloudy
VIENNA	12	5	21	54	70	Cloudy
ZURICH	12	5	21	54	70	Cloudy

*For the latest weather conditions contact Swissair.

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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Clear.

	Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
	Humidity	Min-Max	Max
Jerusalem	28	17-28	27
Golan	26	15-32	31
Nahariya	30	19-30	28
Haifa Port	31	18-34	34
Tiberias	31	18-34	34
Nazareth	41	15-30	27
Alula	49	15-30	30
Shimon	42	18-30	29
Tel Aviv	73	18-25	26
B-G Airport	51	17-28	28
Jericho	29	19-36	36
Gaza	73	19-26	26
Beersheba	29	16-34	32
Eilat	11	23-38	38

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

At a festive luncheon at Bar-Ilan University, the program for basic biblical studies was dedicated in the name of Arthur and Diane Belfer of New York. In attendance were the honorees, members of the Belfer family and leading faculty members. Greetings were extended by the university's rector, Prof. Ernest Krausz, its director-general, David Altman, who served as toastmaster, and Prof. Daniel Sperber, dean of the faculty of Jewish Studies. The gathering was addressed by Prof. Meir Feldblum, head of the unit for basic studies at Bar-Ilan. A decorative scroll was presented by Aharon Meir, chairman of Bar-Ilan Friends, to Mr. Belfer, who expressed the gratitude of the family for the opportunity to further Jewish knowledge.

Birth

A daughter, Maya Beth, on June 4 in Jerusalem, to Lisa, daughter of Frederic and Carol Schulaner, and David Azran, son of Haim and Esther.

Dehaishe curfew lifted

By JOEL GREENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter
The curfew imposed on the Dehaishe refugee camp on Tuesday night was lifted yesterday, but a camp resident was placed in administrative detention in the wake of the unrest there this week.

Mohammad Issa, 26, was jailed for three months. He is suspected of subversive activity on behalf of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

In East Jerusalem workers of the financially ailing Jerusalem District Electricity Company staged a sit-in to protest against negotiations be-

HOME NEWS

Labour votes to go on peace offensive

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Post Political Reporter
The Labour Party decided yesterday to launch a campaign among party members and the general public to promote the peace process.

The Party Bureau in Tel Aviv decided that during the campaign pamphlets will be distributed and speeches made by party activists in cities, public parks and at beaches.

A trial run will be held on June 20, with the major campaign slated for June 27.

Secretary-general Uzi Baram yesterday rebuffed assertions that the party had already decided to go ahead with Foreign Minister Peres's plan for a referendum on the international peace conference. Baram, refuting Communications Minister Gad Ya'acobi's statement to the contrary, said that no authorized party forum had decided on a referendum.

Ya'acobi told Arabic Television yesterday that Labour intends sub-

mitting to the Knesset a draft law for a one-time referendum on an international opening for peace talks. "When the government is unable to decide, an alternative must be sought," he said. He added that Labour had not yet decided when it would table the draft.

Baram is said to be opposed to the referendum idea, both because it weakens Labour's drive for early elections and because he feels that it would set a dangerous precedent. Labour's rivals could use referendums to reach decisions on such matters as West Bank settlements and pardons for Jewish underground members.

Baram also told the bureau that in its negotiations with other parties on early elections, Labour had not promised anyone a place on the party's Knesset list. MK Haim Ramon and others stated recently that they were considering proposing a draft law banning such deals with MKs.

IDF officer suspended for firing on TV crew

By BRADLEY BURSTON
For The Jerusalem Post
BEERSHEBA. - An IDF officer and a soldier under his command were ordered relieved of their duties yesterday, after they reportedly opened fire on a car containing members of a television crew at the northern entrance to the Gaza Strip.

The shooting occurred Wednesday afternoon, as an Israeli crew, freelancing for foreign television companies, stopped their car by the Erez checkpoint and began filming the vehicles being inspected by soldiers.

According to the soldiers, crew members continued to film although they were told that the checkpoint was a closed military area and that photography of any kind was forbidden. Later, the crew's Volkswagen van reportedly drove through the checkpoint from Gaza into Israel without stopping at the soldiers' command.

The checkpoint's commander then fired shots into the air, and, as the van continued, fired directly at it. There were no injuries.

Early yesterday, at a preliminary investigation headed by OC Southern Command Aluf Yitzhak Mordechai, members of the television

crew contradicted the soldiers' version.

"An officer came running up and yelled, 'Stop it, stop filming! You're filming military equipment,' crew director Adir Zik said yesterday, adding that he was making a film on moshavim and was filming only trucks transporting oranges.

"We told him that we were within the Green Line, on the territory of the State of Israel, and it was our right to film there. The officer yelled, 'No, no, no, no,' and fired into the air. Naturally, at that point we stopped filming. He then ordered us not to move. But after a while, while the delicate camera standing out there in the broiling sun, the sound man decided to bring up the car in order to put the camera inside."

A soldier was then reportedly ordered to fire additional warning shots, and to fire at the car. "By a miracle, no one was hit, including the people standing alongside the car," Zik said. He termed the incident "Kafkaesque."

After a preliminary investigation, the crew received an apology from the IDF commander in Gaza. Later, Mordechai ordered the soldiers, members of a reserve unit, relieved of their duties pending the results of a Military Police investigation.

IDF to get new machine-gun

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter
HAIFA. - A new machine-gun that is lighter and tougher than the IDF's standard, Belgian-made MAG, has been developed by the Military Industries. The head of the development team, Adi Flesher, is to display the new weapon at the 21st Israel conference on mechanical engineering to be held at the Technion this month.

The new gun weighs only seven kg., compared with the MAG's 12 kg., and fires lighter bullets especially developed for it.

The new rounds can penetrate a steel helmet at a range of 800 metres, according to Military Industries

deputy-director, Nitzan Halevy.

The gun will be cheaper than the MAG, and production, scheduled to be in full gear within a year, is slated mainly for the IDF, though export markets are also being studied.

The conference will feature other new developments in arms production, including a new shell with a high level of maneuverability.

The Belgian FN company, which manufactures the MAG, has also developed a smaller machine-gun which has already been issued to armies in Belgium, South-East Asia and the U.S.

Some 1,000 engineers and scientists are expected to attend the conference.

Liver girl dies

By BRADLEY BURSTON
For The Jerusalem Post
OFAKIM. - Three-year-old Dana Bitto, flown to England five weeks ago for liver transplant surgery, died early yesterday in a Cambridge hospital after her body rejected the transplanted organ. She is to be buried later today in the cemetery of this western Negev town.

"We are stunned, we can't accept this, we had such hope that she would come back to us safe and sound, and would be able to function like all children," her uncle, Rafi Bitto, said yesterday, as scores of grieving family members and friends paid condolence calls on the Bitto home.

Serious complications in Dana's condition led doctors in recent days to consider the possibility of performing a second transplant. She never recovered full consciousness, and for the last two weeks was in the hospital's intensive care unit.

Siniora seeking 'legal advice' on candidacy

By JOEL GREENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Hanna Siniora, editor of the East Jerusalem *Al Fajr* newspaper, said yesterday she would seek legal advice abroad before deciding whether to go ahead with his proposal to run in the Jerusalem municipal elections next year.

Siniora said he would try to determine whether his candidacy would prejudice Palestinian claims to sovereignty over East Jerusalem.

Siniora hedged on his dramatic proposal - announced last week - after the PLO said on Wednesday it "categorically rejected" the idea. A PLO statement published by the Palestinian news agency, Wafa, called his proposal a "negative idea," and condemned "any idea or programme which contradicts the task of resisting the occupation, and which undermines the struggle against the Zionist occupier."

Siniora's proposal has also been opposed by

prominent Palestinians in the territories, who have said it amounts to recognition of Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem. (See story, page 7.)

Siniora told *The Jerusalem Post* that, after hearing the criticism of his proposal, he had decided to consult legal experts in the U.S. and Europe to determine whether his candidacy would imply the relinquishing of the Palestinian claim to sovereignty over East Jerusalem.

"If their advice is that I am in any way conceding sovereignty over East Jerusalem, I will freeze my proposal," Siniora said. "If their opinion is that I am not... then I will continue."

Siniora said he would also suspend his initiative if the Knesset passed legislation limiting participation in municipal elections to Israeli citizens. Under current law any local resident can vote and run for a city council, though the mayor must be an Israeli citizen. Siniora has Jordanian citizenship.

Likud MK Yehoshua Matza, prompted by Siniora's initiative plans to submit a bill to the Knesset requiring all city council candidates to be Israeli citizens.

Siniora said that if the legal opinions favoured his participation in elections, "it will make a difference in all the quarters that are now criticizing me," including the PLO. He said he expected to obtain the opinions within the next three months.

Siniora said it was meant as a local initiative to break the deadlock in the Middle East peace process and to provoke discussion among Israeli and Palestinians about the implications of Israeli extended rule in the territories. He said a Palestinian list could gain seven seats in the 31-seat municipal council, and provide crucial swing votes, wielding power similar to that of religious factions in the Knesset.



Hoping to move, British Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock and his wife Glenys outside their small terraced house in the South Wales village of Pontllanfraith after casting their votes in yesterday's general election.

U.S. Jews meet Arafat

WASHINGTON. - Three American Jews have just returned from Tunis, where they met with PLO chairman Yasser Arafat and other Palestinian leaders.

They said that Arafat was very anxious to establish a dialogue with the American Jewish community in order to press his case for the creation of a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza.

They added that the PLO leader was also interested in addressing Israeli public opinion.

The three Jews - all affiliated with peace-oriented organizations which support a "two-state" solution to the Israeli-Palestinian problem - are Dr. Jerome Segal of the Washington Area Jews for an Israeli-Palestinian Peace; Mary Appleman of the American-Israeli Council for an Israeli-Palestinian Peace; and Hilda Silverman of the New Jewish Agenda.

Segal said that they met for nearly two hours with Arafat in Tunis on May 30. They also met with Farouk Khadoudi, the PLO's foreign affairs spokesman. The meetings were initiated by the Jews.

Segal who stressed in an interview with *The Jerusalem Post* that he supports "a secure and viable Israel" as well as a separate Palestinian state, said Arafat had stressed the PLO's readiness to negotiate with Israel.

Arafat, he added, was anxious to try to disprove the Israeli contention that there was no "other side" with whom to negotiate.

The PLO, Segal said, would be prepared to sign a peace treaty with Israel on the basis of mutual security arrangements acceptable to both Israel and a separate Palestinian state.

"We came away with the broad conclusion that the PLO was interested in negotiations with Israel," said Segal, adding that the PLO would be prepared to end any "armed conflict" with Israel as part of an arrangement leading to the establishment of a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza.

Ministers seek solution to VOA tax perk row

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Communications Minister Gad Ya'acobi and Finance Minister Moshe Nissim hope to find a solution to the problem caused by the government's granting of a property-tax exemption to the U.S. for its planned Voice of America relay station in the Arava.

The Communications Ministry, which negotiated the technical and financial agreement with the U.S. government to establish the relay station, admitted yesterday that a \$20 million property tax exemption had been granted. The reason was that the Americans argued that they pay no property tax on such facilities anywhere in the world.

The issue had been raised on Wednesday by Ilan Oren, head of the Arava Regional Council, who

urged the postponement of the bi-national agreement on the VOA relay station that is to be signed at a White House ceremony next Thursday. He charged that former Communications Ministry Director-General Yoram Alster had bowed to high-level pressure from the U.S. and granted financial concessions to the detriment of the Arava.

Ya'acobi and Nissim met yesterday to discuss the matter after Ya'acobi consulted with his director-general, Ben-Ami Gov. The two ministers agreed that they would try to table an alternative proposal at Sunday's cabinet meeting.

Both also agreed that it would be unthinkable to postpone the signing ceremony, because of the "vital diplomatic and economic implications" of the project, which will bring \$150m. worth of contracts to Israel over the next five years.

Herzog knocks vigilantes

President Chaim Herzog last night sharply criticized the "dangerous phenomenon" of people taking the law into their own hands, Israel Television reported.

Speaking at a Tel Aviv University Law School graduation ceremony, Herzog noted that some of the law-breakers were doing this under the guise of religion.

In an apparent reference to the recent Dehaishe rampage, Herzog said the most dangerous development was when law-breakers raised their hands against IDF soldiers.

Herzog also roundly condemned so-called retaliatory action against civilians.

Liberal meet ends

NETANYA. - The Independent Liberal convention ended here last night after deciding to continue negotiations with Shimon on establishing a joint Liberal front, and to sever itself from the Alignment when new Knesset elections are announced. The convention also elected a new central committee of 351 members. (Itim)

The World Zionist Organization
The Sephardi Communities Department
share the grief of the family and Canadian Sephardi community
and deeply mourn the passing of the distinguished leader

LEON OZIEL ז"ל

President of the Canadian Sephardi Federation.

Asher Ohayon
Head of Dept.

Avi Shlush
Director General

The unveiling of the tombstone of
SHLEIME SHER ז"ל
will take place at 5:30 p.m., Wednesday, June 17, 1987
at the Petah Tikva Cemetery.

The family

On the second anniversary of the passing of
our most beloved mother and sister
LILY (Juliana) MARK
a memorial service will be held on Sunday, June 14, 1987
at 4:30 p.m. at the Holon Cemetery.
We will meet at the old gate.

The Family

On the 30th day of the passing of our dear
MAX LAMPEL ז"ל
a memorial meeting and tombstone unveiling ceremony
will take place on Monday, June 15, 1987 at 5 p.m.
at the Har Hazetim Cemetery, Jerusalem.

Friends and relatives will meet at the cemetery gate near the Intercontinental Hotel. Those interested in transportation should gather near the Ram Hotel, Central Bus Station area beside the Taxi Shalom stand at 4:30 p.m.

The Family

The Staff and Customers of Ritchie's Pizzeria
offer condolences to:
Richard Fox and Family
on the passing of his father

GEDALIAH ז"ל

To RITA and MICHAEL

Please accept our sincerest condolences
on the death of your dear father

ARIEL KAPON (Meron) ז"ל

Clara, Meshulam, Ilan, Beni Zonis
Miami, U.S.A.

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Reagan upbeat on summit, N-pact

VENICE (AP). — President Reagan said yesterday he sees an "increased opportunity" for a nuclear arms agreement this year as well as a third meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev because of the economic summit and the NATO meeting in Iceland.

Reagan opened his news conference with a statement claiming success at the seven-nation economic summit. But the questions turned immediately to superpower relations, the tensions in the Persian Gulf and the Iran-Contra hearings that have competed with the summit for headlines in the U.S.

Reagan stumbled on one of the few questions that came his way on economic issues, the chief topic on the summit agenda with Japan, Canada, Britain, France, West Germany and Italy.

Asked about current developments in which the value of the American dollar has dropped over several months, Reagan said, "Well, frankly most of us believe the dollar should remain stable. It could be within reason that there could still be some lowering of the value in relation to other currencies."

Less than 15 minutes after Reagan had left the news conference, White House spokesman Martin Fitzwater said the president did not mean to suggest that he wanted a further decline in the dollar. "He wants stability in the dollar," the spokesman said.

Reagan was asked whether the economic summit and a NATO meeting beginning yesterday would advance prospects for a Reagan-Gorbachev summit to conclude a new arms pact.

"I can't deny that I believe there is an increased opportunity for a summit conference and an increased opportunity for an actual reduction of armaments, particularly of the nuclear kind," Reagan said.

As for a possible third meeting with Gorbachev, the president said, "All I know is that we have made it plain that they (the Soviets) have the invitation (to visit the United States) and we are waiting for them."

Reagan noted that Secretary of State George Shultz is in Iceland briefing the NATO foreign ministers on the elements of a possible arms agreement with the Soviets that would reduce the number of nuclear missiles in Europe.

Reagan, asked about tensions in the Persian Gulf, said he was "gratified completely by the response" of allies despite congressional demands that other nations join the U.S. in providing security for Kuwaiti oil tankers. He noted specifically that Britain already has escorted shipping in the region.

Reagan was asked about a Washington Post story quoting his spokesman Fitzwater as saying that West German leader Helmut Kohl has turned down Reagan's personal plea for the extradition to the U.S. of Mohammed Ali Hamadi.

Hamadi is being held for his alleged part in the 1985 hijacking of a TWA jet and the murder of an American sailor.

"No decision has been made on extradition," the president said. "He (Kohl) has never said outright to me, no extradition." Reagan said the question is whether Hamadi is tried in the U.S. or in West Germany.

Reagan travels today to West Germany, where he planned a foreign policy address within sight of the Berlin Wall.

As for the economic aspects of the summit, Reagan told reporters: "I said last year that the Tokyo summit was one of the most successful" but "Venice must be seen as going one better." He said the summit had produced an important stand against trade protectionism and had moved to reduce agricultural subsidies.

The three-day summit meeting addressed a multitude of issues but produced no breakthrough initiative on any of them.

When questioned about the Iran-Contra affair, Reagan said that he believes a Congressional ban against aid to the Nicaraguan Contra rebels did not apply to him personally, and added that in any event, "I don't think the law was broken."

And Reagan repeated that he never gave anyone orders to assist the rebels during the cut-off in aid. He acknowledged that he was aware of efforts by private individuals to raise funds for the Contras but said he did no solicitations himself.



Pierrette Lalanne, 50, ex-wife of French right wing leader Jean Marie Le Pen, who poses semi-nude as a housemaid in the July issue of "Playboy" magazine, brings a grin to the face of this Paris office worker yesterday. In a recent interview in the magazine, the National Front Party president had advised his former wife to hire out as a maid to support herself. (AFP telephoto)

FOREIGN BRIEFS

France expels 2 suspected Lebanese terrorists

PARIS (Reuters). — France yesterday expelled two Lebanese to Beirut, only two days after sending eight Iranians back to Tehran, police sources said. The men were among 57 suspected terrorists arrested last week in a country-wide police crackdown on terrorism.

The two Lebanese, whose names were not revealed, were put aboard a Middle East Airlines flight to Beirut.

Chernobyl trial to start on July 7

MOSCOW (Reuters). — The trial of those considered responsible for the Chernobyl nuclear power plant disaster will open on July 7, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said yesterday.

Boris Fyadyshev announced the trial would be open to foreign reporters and would be held in the town of Chernobyl, 18 km. from the plant. He did not specify what charges they would face, saying only that the former "leadership" of the plant would appear in court.

Air force men probed in Karamah murder

BEIRUT (AP). — A special judicial investigator probing the June 1 assassination of Prime Minister Rashid Karamah yesterday interrogated Lebanon's Air Force commander, Gen. Fahim Hajj, and the two pilots who survived the mid-air bomb explosion that killed the Sunni Moslem leader.

The Air Force would not comment on the interrogation.

Moscow warns: will oust Japanese diplomats

MOSCOW (AFP). — The Soviet authorities have warned Japan that they would expel some Japanese diplomats unless an "unfriendly anti-Soviet campaign" in Japan was stopped, a foreign ministry spokesman said here yesterday.

Relations between Moscow and Tokyo are strained by what is termed as Japanese "spy mania" aimed at the Soviet Union after sanctions were taken against Japanese companies for violating trade regulations.

North and South Yemen renew merger contacts

SANAA (Reuters). — North and South Yemen have stepped up high-level contacts aimed at achieving a merger of the two countries, sources in Sanaa and Aden said yesterday.

They said the meetings were trying to remove the main stumbling block to unity talks — the presence of South Yemeni refugees in North Yemen.

Bhopal victims flock to well for cure

BHOPAL, India (AP). — Thousands of victims of the 1984 Bhopal poison gas disaster are flocking to a village water well that they believe has healing powers.

Hundreds of survivors of the accident that killed more than 2,000 people have been bathing daily at the well in Pipalia, just outside Bhopal, capital of Madhya Pradesh.

The hamlet of 200 residents is now crowded from dawn to dusk by victims who suffer chronic ailments from exposure to methyl isocyanate gas.

Nato gives okay for double-zero

REYKJAVIK. — The U.S. has received the backing of its 15 NATO allies to conclude a deal with the Soviet Union for the removal of medium-range nuclear missiles from Europe, diplomatic sources said here yesterday at the opening of the meeting of the alliance's foreign ministers.

Before the meeting, NATO Secretary-General Lord Carrington told reporters: "It is now within reach that we get an agreement on the elimination of all or most" of medium and short range nuclear missiles.

The deal, the so-called Double-Zero Option, would eliminate shorter- and longer-range missiles within the intermediate-range forces (INF) category. These cover a range of from 500 to 5,000 kms.

It would mean the removal from Europe of U.S. Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles which were deployed to counter the threat from Soviet medium-range missiles, principally the SS-20.

The consensus was apparent from the beginning of the two-day ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council, NATO's highest decision-making body, the sources said.

It gives U.S. negotiators the green light to proceed with putting the final touches to a deal at the superpower arms talks in Geneva.

With allied backing in hand, U.S. President Reagan is set to announce next week that he will have his first nuclear arms control agreement with Moscow later in the year.

Such an accord was first proposed by Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev last April.

But in a speech at the meeting's opening session, Carrington warned the allies of the implications of a sweeping nuclear arms deal. He urged them to remain "alert to the continuing expansion and upgrading of (the Soviet Union's) conventional forces."

"The Soviet military threat has not diminished, even if the Soviet voice has become softer and more peaceful," Carrington added.

The accord would, however, only cover 10 per cent of the more than 10,000 nuclear warheads held by the superpowers. It includes only ground-based systems, and not missiles launched from ships or aircraft.

As Soviet arms proposals have thrown NATO on the defensive, the Western alliance has focused increasing attention on assessing the implications of Gorbachev's leadership. Ministers are expected to continue this analysis during two days of talks in Reykjavik, dominated by arms control. (AFP, AP)

Iranians to expel four more UK diplomats

By DAVID HOROVITZ
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON. — Iran yesterday ordered four more British diplomats out of the country within 72 hours, plunging relations between the two countries to a new low.

One of the first tasks of Britain's new foreign secretary, whoever he may be, will be to decide whether to extend the series of diplomatic expulsions that have rocked relations over the past fortnight, since the arrest of an Iranian official in Manchester on shoplifting charges.

Yesterday's expulsions leave Britain with just nine diplomats in Tehran, compared with Iran's 16 diplomats here.

Ahmed Ghasseini's arrest led to the beating up in Tehran of British diplomat Edward Chaplin and then to the closure of the Iranian consulate in Manchester and the expulsion of its five employees.

Iran reacted by expelling five British diplomats from Tehran, including Chaplin. Britain countered on Tuesday by ordering two further Iranian diplomats out of the country.

The 82-year-old Chinese leader, who has previously said that the "struggle against bourgeois liberalization," a term meaning western ideas and values, could last 50 to 70 years, began in April to pit his political might against conservative pressure, analysts said.

Since then, he has used an unusual number of discussions with visiting foreigners to attack "leftist tendencies," observers said.

Deng leaning towards the reformers

BEIJING (AFP). — Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping has turned towards reformists within the Chinese Communist Party in an attempt to keep down conservative members who have conducted a six-month ideological campaign threatening his economic reforms and even his authority, diplomats here say.

This swing to the right of the Chinese political spectrum, away from the more orthodox Marxist party members, comes four months before a crucial October party congress that is to decide on a renewal of the country's leadership.

It comes five months into a severe political crisis which involved the ouster in January of a party General-Secretary Hu Yaobang.

Most of the official Chinese press carried articles last week supporting the moderate reformers gathered around Prime Minister and acting party chief Zhao Ziyang, the main architect of the economic reforms. The articles praised the policy of opening China to the outside world and condemned leftists in the party who, according to the press, are mistaken in criticizing the economic reforms.

The People's Daily, the official party organ, said the country needed "new heroes" to eliminate "ossified views" and to promote reforms. Other major newspapers, urging an acceleration of the reforms, called them "second revolution of China" and said "some comrades have confused the struggle against liberalization with a struggle against reform."

After separating himself in January from his right-hand man and reformist protégé Hu Yaobang, Deng has been exasperated by attempts by conservatives to take power from the reformists, diplomats say.

The 82-year-old Chinese leader, who has previously said that the "struggle against bourgeois liberalization," a term meaning western ideas and values, could last 50 to 70 years, began in April to pit his political might against conservative pressure, analysts said.

Since then, he has used an unusual number of discussions with visiting foreigners to attack "leftist tendencies," observers said.

Hussein sees Syrian PM

AMMAN (AP). — King Hussein met yesterday with visiting Syrian Prime Minister Abdel-Raouf al-Kassab, who heads a delegation for political and economic talks.

State-run Radio Jordan said Hussein and Kassab discussed "the latest developments in the Arab region" and bilateral relations. But it gave no details.

Earlier, Kassab and three other Syrian ministers met with their Jordanian counterparts at the prime ministry.

The radio said the talks focused on economic cooperation, and the operation of joint Jordanian-Syrian foreign policy efforts: seeking support for Iraq in the Gulf war and in reaching peace with Israel.

25 killed in renewed Tamil separatist violence

COLOMBO (AFP). — Twenty-five people were killed in Tamil separatist violence in Sri Lanka yesterday as the Sri Lankan foreign minister and the Indian envoy to Colombo met here to discuss aid to Tamil civilians.

Meanwhile, President Junius Jayewardene told a crowd of 10,000 in the central city of Anuradhapura that Sri Lanka would prevail in its confrontation with India by peaceful means.

India accuses Sri Lanka of massacring and starving Tamil civilians in its war with Tamil separatists which has claimed 6,000 lives since 1983.

Colombo retorts that New Delhi is meddling in its internal affairs.

Ten Tamil civilians and three soldiers were killed in the northern Jaffna peninsula yesterday when a convoy taking released suspected guerrillas home hit a landmine.

Another attack brought Thursday's death toll in separatist-related violence to 25, when guerrillas blew up a passenger van in the northeastern district of Trincomalee, killing at least 12 civilians.

Unrest flares after SA emergency is extended

JOHANNESBURG. — South African police reported fresh violence yesterday in black townships hours after President P.W. Botha extended a year-old national state of emergency.

A police statement said one black man was killed and a policeman wounded yesterday in a gun battle in Soweto. Earlier, police had fired shotguns and tear gas at a group of attackers on Sobantu township in Natal province, wounding two blacks.

The emergency rule was due to expire at midnight last night.

At the same time, Botha stated that he was tightening media censorship banning newsmen from covering security force action to crush political unrest.

Newly-worded regulations in the Government Gazette closed a legal loophole which had enabled journalists to issue eyewitness reports of black township disturbances and campus demonstrations. The loophole was created last April when the Natal supreme court declared some of the censorship regulations invalid.

Government opponents, speaking after Botha announced the extension in parliament and on television, predicted an indefinite state of emergency.

Botha again rejected dialogue with his white government's arch rival, the African National Congress (ANC) guerrilla group. "We will not talk to these people. We shall fight them," he said.

Anti-apartheid organizations are planning two weeks of protest against the state of emergency. Twenty-four-hour fasts were due to start late yesterday and church bells pealed out at noon to protest the emergency.

Pamphlets have been distributed

Queen's Chinese fan mail keeps rolling in

BEIJING (Reuters). — Fan mail for Queen Elizabeth II is still rolling in, eight months after she became the first British monarch to visit China. Hardly a day goes by without a letter or gift for the queen arriving at the British embassy here, an embassy official said this week.

"During the state visit last October, we were getting 200 or 300 items a week. Then there were many cards in specially decorated envelopes at Christmas and the Chinese New Year," she said.

The official replies to all letters on behalf of the queen and sends the most interesting ones and all the gifts to Buckingham Palace.

"It's mainly pure fan mail. The queen's visit made a great impact in terms of public response," she said. "More than half of it is written in English — on the whole very good English."

Learning English is so popular in China that some city parks have English-speaking corners, where students can practise at weekends.

The official sends out glossy colour photographs of the royal family when acknowledging letters.

"One man in China's tropical Hainan Island wrote back to say he had hung the photograph on his living-room wall and was inviting friends and neighbours in for evening viewing," she said.

While the official remarked on the "un-nuttiness" of most letters, there was one from a man who enclosed an old photograph of himself and said he was the queen's fiancé.

"In courteous and flowery language, he invited the queen to meet him at the back of the Shanghai Number Two Gasworks," she said.

Israel Academic Committee on The Middle East
Seminar: The Islamic Dimension in the Middle East
Sunday, June 14, 9:30 a.m. - 3:30 p.m.

AN INTRODUCTION: Dr. Rafi Israeli, Lecturer, Islamic and Chinese Studies and Research Fellow, Henry S. Truman Inst. for the Advancement of Peace, Hebrew University.

The Islamic Dimension of Egyptian Attitudes to Peace
Dr. Rivka Yadin, Research Fellow, Truman Institute and the Centre for Anti-Semitic Research of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University.

Islamic Resurgence in Israel
David Neuhaus, Researcher, Dept. of Political Science in Israel.
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Newspapers hard to find in Bnei Brak

By JONATHAN KARP
For The Jerusalem Post

BNEI BRAK. — It is getting harder and harder to find a non-religious newspaper in this ultra-Orthodox city. Shimon Tsimbe now sells the *Jerusalem Post* at the same kiosk where, until six months ago, he sold the major Hebrew dailies. And a few blocks down from him on Rehov Rabbi Akiva, Mordechai Farber just this week stopped selling Hebrew dailies, saying that it no longer paid to fill his racks.

But the recent drop in demand for "secular" newspapers may have been the result of unnatural market forces. According to several shop-owners, an ultra-Orthodox group known as Keshet has used threats and even bombs to force merchants out of the business.

Farber and his wife admitted that there had been threats against them, but they adamantly denied that ultra-Orthodox pressure had played a role in their decision.

"We have been in this business for 60 years," Farber said, "and in that time, we never succumbed to religious [pressure]. We didn't this time either." The Farbers said they were angry about press reports which implied that they had succumbed to Keshet. "They are all lies," Farber said, adding that the

decision was made purely on financial grounds: the major papers did not sell, causing the family book and stationery store to lose NIS 1,000 a month. In addition, they said, many newspapers were stolen.

Up the street, Tsimbe recalled that some ultra-Orthodox men had threatened to burn down his kiosk if he continued to sell secular newspapers. Last winter, someone placed a bomb next to the kiosk. The explosion caused moderate damage to his building and sent debris flying across the street, breaking windows of a tailor's shop.

Shortly after the incident, Tsimbe said, the municipality "told" him to stop selling newspapers and suggested the kiosk instead. He agreed.

"The residents of Bnei Brak are mostly Hassidic and don't read the secular newspapers," he said. "Now I am selling something that they do want, and there are no more threats. The money is better, too."

A few merchants have resisted ultra-Orthodox pressure. Despite the bomb that exploded on the roof of their kiosk last February, Leah and David Green continue to sell the major papers. Leah said that they had owned the kiosk, on the corner of Rehov Rabbi Akiva and Rehov Rabbi Tarfon, since 1963.

"There were no threats until those animals put the bomb here," Leah said as she stacked copies of *Ma'ariv* behind the counter. "I don't know what will happen in the future, but it can't be as bad as what I went through under the Nazis."

Another merchant, who carries a pistol to prevent robberies, said that the weapon may also have deterred those contemplating action against him for selling newspapers. The man, who would not give his name, indicated that he would accept certain religious conventions in order to do business in Bnei Brak (he wears a *kippa* during working hours) but not those dictated by what he called ultra-Orthodox "lunatics."

Although Keshet is not a clandestine organization, none of the shop-owners seem to have a clear idea who its members are. When asked about the group, they say: "Go talk to them." But no one knows where to find them.

The police are tight-lipped about Keshet, saying only that information on their membership and activities is considered classified.

Leah Green, who believes that Keshet was responsible for the attack on her kiosk, accused the police of not doing enough to uncover the group. She noted bitterly that no one had been arrested after the incident.

Interior Ministry 'insulted Ethiopians'

An application submitted yesterday to the High Court of Justice accused Interior Ministry officials of deliberately insulting a family of Ethiopian immigrants.

The court issued an order *nisi* to Prime Minister Shamir, in his capacity as acting interior minister, to show cause why an Ethiopian immigrant and her children should not be registered as Jews.

The father of the family arrived first with three children, and they were registered as Jews. Shortly afterwards, his wife and four more children arrived; but ministry officials expressed doubts about their Jewishness and registered them as Christians.

The officials refused to alter the registration, even when the mother's parents subsequently arrived and were duly registered as Jews.

Thus, in one family, the mother's parents are registered as Jews, the father and three children are registered as Jews, but the mother and four of her children are registered as Christians.

In his application to the High Court, the family's attorney called the conduct of the ministry officials "a deliberate insult to the Ethiopian immigrants." (Itim)

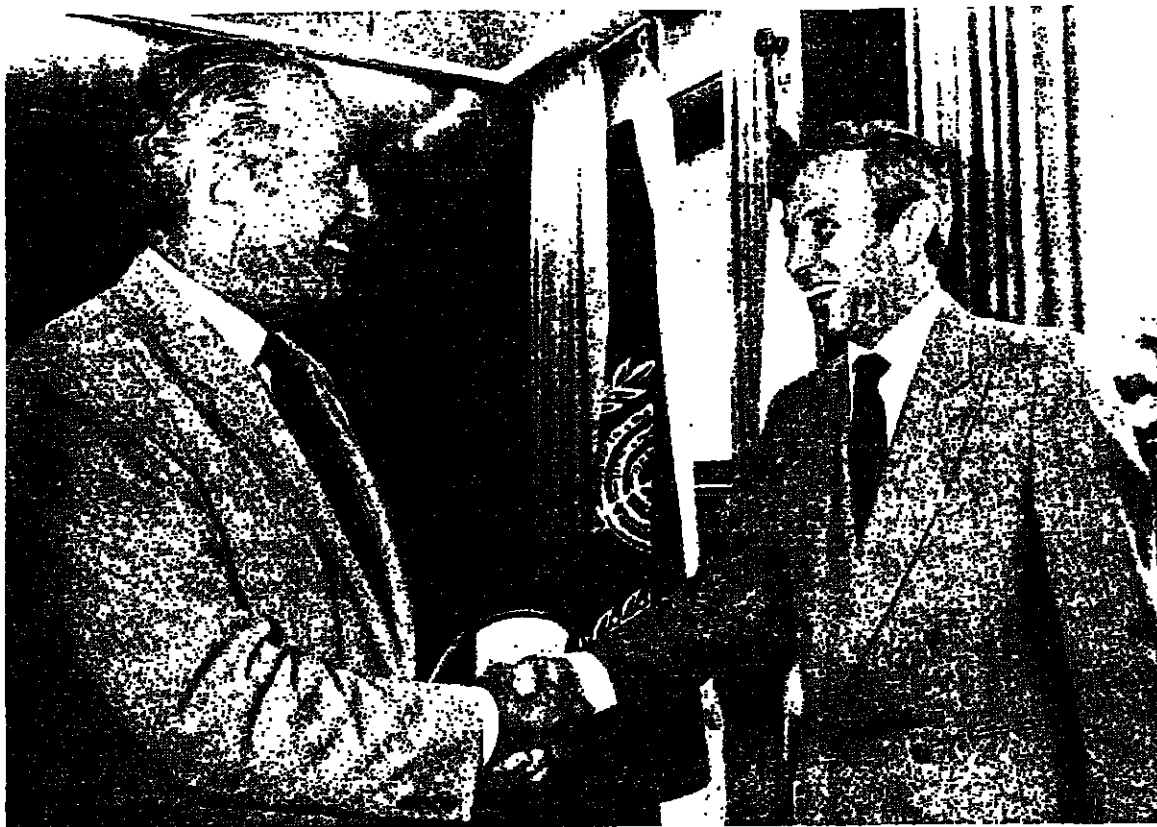
Satmar's widow here 'with millions'

By HAIM SHAPIRO
Jerusalem Post Reporter
Thousands of women and girls gathered in the vicinity of Jerusalem's Mea She'arim on Wednesday to welcome Althea Feige Teitelbaum, the widow of the late Satmar Rebbe, Yoel Teitelbaum.

The girls were dressed in their Sabbath best. Many of them gathered at the entrances to schools which hope to benefit from the largesse of the rebbe's widow, who lives in the U.S.

She is rumored to have come with millions of dollars for distribution to institutions. Her position, as a woman controlling the purse strings of a Hassidic following, is said to be unique.

Among the gatherings planned in her honor are two "demonstrations of modesty" by pious women and girls.



President Chaim Herzog congratulates Moshe Arad, Israel's ambassador designate to the U.S., in Jerusalem yesterday. Arad is due to return to his present post in Mexico, where he will wind up his affairs before leaving for Washington.

Settlers split on Dehaishe rampage

JOEL GREENBERG

Jewish settlers in the West Bank have found it difficult to condemn the rampage by their colleagues last Saturday night in the Dehaishe refugee camp. The incident stirred much internal debate in the settler community, which this week appeared torn between those seeking to project a moderate image, or who genuinely disapproved of the act, and those who opposed any criticism of the rampage, which they saw as understandable, if not justified.

The hard-line opinion received a boost from the generally felt outrage over remarks by OC Central Command Aluf Amram Mitzna, who called the rampage an "abomination." Many in the community felt the statement was politically motivated, and reacted strongly to it.

Settlers charged that army accounts of the incident had been distorted, and that a public "lynch" was underway against the suspects under arrest.

A microcosm of the settlers' dilemma was Kiryat Arba, where the local council head Shalom Wach,

who at first criticized the rampage, later tried to wriggle out of his condemnation, claiming he had been misinformed. Wach had come under fire from hard-liners in the settlement, led by the Kach Party, which left the council coalition in protest. Elyakim Ha'etzi, a member of the council, assailed what he called "the condemnation psychosis," and said he was not obliged to condemn every settler action, just because he happened to live in the West Bank.

When the official statements by settler groups finally came, they lacked an unequivocal moral condemnation of attacks on innocent civilians. Instead, they were watered down by "balancing" demands that the army step up efforts against Arab violence. The most moderate group, the Council of Settlements in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District, did say that the rampage was contrary to any norm held by the council.

However, it found it necessary to begin with a warning that a "wave of terror" is sweeping the country, and that security forces should intensify their efforts to stamp it out. The council's statement went on to say

that it is "inconceivable that civilians act in place of the security forces," effectively equating Saturday night's rampage with IDF operations in the territories.

The main concern of council head Yisrael Harel was that the rampage hurt the settlement movement.

Gush Emunim, for its part, rejected calls by some of its members for a condemnation, making do with the assertion that the IDF and security forces were responsible for security in the territories. It also saw fit to call on the government to restrain Arab rioters and enact stiff measures, including the death penalty, to deter Arab attacks.

It called for an independent inquiry into the Dehaishe incident, claiming that the facts surrounding the events were still unclear. Kach party settlers were present at the rampage, and also figured prominently in settler statements after the action. They praised the riot, expressed regret that Arab blood had not been shed in return for Jewish casualties, and hailed the rioters as heroes who had defended Jewish honor.

NEW CLINIC. — Hundreds of residents of Umm al Fahm attended the opening yesterday of a new Kupat Holim clinic to serve the town's 18,000 Arab residents.

Sister-in-law killed for being 'provocative'

GAZA (Itim). — A 26-year-old Gaza man told the police here yesterday that he killed his sister-in-law because he was afraid of being seduced by her. The woman, who was wounded in the head with a digging hoe, died in hospital.

Apprehended by police yesterday evening, the man said he was unemployed and often at home with his sister-in-law, who walked around the house provocatively dressed.

Man fined NIS 250 for pro-Kahane slogans

HAIFA (Itim). — A Kiyat Gat man who spray-painted "Kahane is right, send the Arabs home" on public buildings was fined NIS 250 and given a two-month suspended sentence in the magistrates' court here yesterday.

Yitzhak Sabag, 33, expressed regret for what he had done. But he added that it was his way of protesting against the murder of Israeli children and old people.

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Election arithmetic:

Labour counting on Likud's fingers

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Post Political Reporter

Like the Dutch boy's efforts to plug the dike, the Likud has succeeded thus far in sticking a finger into each and every hole in its wall of opposition to early elections. Labour strategists maintain that sooner rather than later, the Likud will simply run out of fingers.

The balance of power between supporters and opponents of early elections has remained basically unchanged since Labour's current drive began. A total of 55 MKs are on record as backing early elections: 39 Labour, six Mapam, four Citizens Rights Movement, four Democratic Front for Peace and Equality and two Shinui.

An additional three votes are also very likely in Labour's pocket: two of the Progressive List for Peace and one of Independent Liberal Yitzhak Artzi, whose recent intimations that he might not join the Alignment on this issue are taken more as a matter of form than an actual revolt.

Meir Kahane's loss of the right to vote in the Knesset means that Labour needs only two more MKs to achieve a 60 vote majority. Since Kahane had promised to support early elections, his absence does not benefit Labour. On the other hand, Kahane's banishment from the plenum decreases the Likud's slim hopes of achieving a majority for some form of the "Who is a Jew" bill.

The Likud must find such a majority by July 20, when the deadline for its agreement with Shas on the matter expires. While the Likud has been concentrating on persuading reluctant Liberals and Ometz Minister Yigael Hurvitz to support the bill, Shas's religious rivals have been distancing themselves from the Likud's proposal to amend the 1927 Change of Religious Communities Ordinance. The dissenters include Morasha's Avraham Verdiger, the

National Religious Party's Avraham Shiki and Shas's own Rabbi Ya'acov Yosef, son of Shas mentor Rabbi Ovadia Yosef. Labour believes that if the Shas leader, Rabbi Yitzhak Peretz, refuses to relinquish his ministership despite a Likud failure to pass the bill, Ya'acov Yosef, who habitually disregards any semblance of party discipline, will vote for them.

At the end of July, the Likud may also confront Tehiya's ultimatum to set up more settlements on the West Bank. Likud strategists hope that consultations with Prime Minister Shamir and an infusion of funds into existing settlements will placate Tehiya. Labour optimists believe, however, that Tehiya's Rafi Eitan, a consistently harsh critic of the national unity government, may vote for early elections, even at the risk of a rupture with his own party.

The Likud's tentative agreement with MK Aharon Abuhazzeira and Hurvitz, promising them safe slots in the Likud's list for the next elections, may encounter fierce Likud opposition. If the agreements are annulled, Abuhazzeira will no doubt revive his interest in the advantages of joining Labour's bandwagon.

Labour has also not given up hope of returning Shas's renegade MK Zaidan Atsche to the fold.

Labour believe that it is only a matter of time before two MKs can be pried away from a pool of 13 "loose" MKs (five Tehiya, four Shas, two Aguda, Abuhazzeira, Atsche). The maneuvers for early elections are expected to intensify once again at the end of July.

If Labour fails to muster a majority before the Knesset recesses on August 8, it will have lost all chances of having elections in 1987. There are many loose pieces in this jigsaw puzzle, but there is also no guarantee that any one of them will fit Labour's designs.

Spooky bus ride

By LEV BEARFIELD
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Today's the last day to ride the video bus, and we're sorry we didn't get a chance to discuss it in more detail earlier, because in a festival with no lack of weird elements, this one is among the weirdest.

With a little more refinement this electronic magical mystery tour, we're convinced, could have been the *slagger* of the festival's street entertainment. But if the ride is a little rocky in execution, we still give credit to Tel Aviv graphic designer Eitan Pimentel for his novel conception.

The bus ride relies on mystery and surprise for many of its effects, so its isn't fair to reveal precisely what happens en route. The basic concept is that passengers ride in a nice, air-conditioned tourist bus with covered windows. Mounted inside the bus are several TV monitors showing the scenery outside — and a bit more. Closer coordination between the actual movements of the bus and what shows up on the screen would enhance the illusions. But the basic spookiness is there nonetheless.

Theatre elements also come into play which give the 90-minute bus ride a certain narrative structure. And some of the things that happen inside the darkened bus are considerably weirder than what we normally get travelling by Egged (although Egged can be pretty weird street theatre itself sometimes).

All of this adds up to a fairly

unerving experience, so we appreciated the efforts of cast member Tzachi Yaron, who acted as cabin steward by distributing sweets, offering reading matter in the unlighted bus, and otherwise relieving the tension.

In the end, the bus ride offers multiple surprises, not the least of which is the bus halts and the passengers are allowed out to stretch their legs. It's here that the passengers see that the bus may be as baffling to people on the street as it is to those inside.



Not everyone with whom we rode the bus expressed satisfaction with the experience, and some of the video (and some of the action on board) could be disturbing to young children. But we think Pimentel and his team deserve points for bringing off a difficult and unusual experiment.

Street theatre today: Yossi Teich's troupe presents the minimalist play *Place and Friends* at the Gerard Behar Plaza at 1 p.m.; the Pyramid children's theatre presents *Alice in Magicianland* at the Herzl Crown Plaza at 3, 4 and 5 p.m.; the video-art "Bus" leaves the Herzl Crown Plaza at 4 p.m. Tickets will be purchased from the driver.

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The man without a name

TEL AVIV (Itim). — The district court here will shortly be forced to order the release of a man who has been held for almost a year, because of difficulties in establishing his true identity.

The man was arrested last summer on charges of possessing four grams of hashish. At the time, he pleaded guilty and gave his name as Nur bin Shiman Adawi, 22, of the Beduin village of Tur'an. But a short while later, it transpired that the Beduin identity card in his possession had been stolen.

Police who checked with the Azzameh tribe, to which the man said he belonged, were told that they had no information about him.

The detainee then gave another version of his background. He said that his parents had been divorced soon after his birth and that he had been adopted by an Indian living in Tabat. Police established that this was true; however, the adoptive "father" is no longer in the country and no one knows his name.

The prosecution has asked police to speed up their investigation into the man's true identity because it is impossible to charge a person without a name.

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سكزا فون الاله

The second Sephardi revolution

Pinhas Landau reports on the influence of the court of Rabbi Ovadia Yosef



(M. Daniel/Media)



(M. Daniel/Media)

The boys' choir at the Or Hahaim rally.

POLITICAL ANALYSIS of the ultra-Orthodox community is worse than useless, it is misleading. Phenomena such as Shas, the Or Hahaim *teshuva* movement, and other aspects of the emerging Sephardi religious revolution, are not easily evaluated by people operating within the bounds of established rules.

The word for such unorthodox, outside-normal-bounds events or movements is revolution. There is a revolution going on in this important area of Israeli society, but unlike the first Sephardi revolution, which rode to prominence on the coat-tails of Begin's Likud, the current one cannot be measured with the usual tools.

Worse still, for the practitioners of political and social sciences, and the politicians and bureaucrats who are their clients, this particular movement has at its head an individual to whom no rule with which they are familiar can be applied. That man is Rabbi Ovadia Yosef.

Rabbi Yosef has recently been at the centre of a political/legal wrangle that perfectly illustrates the conceptual gap between how the establishment expects things to run and how the rules break down when faced with unique personalities.

Because he is a member of the Rabbinical High Court, and hence a public servant, Rabbi Yosef is barred from engaging in political activity. When he gives instructions, or advice, or guidance (depending on how you define it) to the politicians of the Shas Party, he is accused of breaking the law by interfering in politics. To all those people who see the rabbinate as an arm of the state, and rabbis as salaried officials on a par with teachers, army officers and others, this makes a lot of sense.

Judges in state courts, who are the equivalent of *dayanim* (religious judges), are expected to keep well clear of anything political. The same rules should apply to *dayanim*, and the more prominent they are, the truer this is. So runs the conventional separation of powers, neutral civil service, argument.

However, in the context of the religious community, the person who makes legal rulings is also a religious leader in the broadest sense, because of that knowledge. The two go hand-in-hand; the leaders are the judges, the judges are the leaders. It goes back to Moses and Joshua.

Granted, there are leaders who are not judges in the full legal sense. One has only to think of the Hassidic courts, where the rebbe, even if scholastically outstanding, does not take on a judicial role, to see a powerful example of religious leadership deliberately separated from the courts.

There have also been rabbis who have not been great scholars, but have still been great leaders. And, for hundreds of years, there have been individuals who achieved leadership status and influence solely through their standing as outstanding scholars, without their holding any public post or formal leadership position. The late Rabbi Moshe Feinstein, who died last year, was a classic example of this phenomenon.

In other words, in the context of the religious community, the requirement for the judge, in his capacity as outstanding halachist, not to be a leader in the full sense (even if exercising leadership indirectly in the political field), makes no sense at all. If it were followed through, the state religious court system would inevitably fill up with second- or third-rate *dayanim* of no standing in the community. "Real" halacha development, which is

already found largely outside the official state system, would be completely driven out.

IN THE CASE of Rabbi Yosef, the debate finds its quintessential expression. The man is regarded as one of the outstanding halachists of his generation. The sheer breadth of his scholarship is simply staggering — "that man's talmudic knowledge was awe-inspiring to anyone studying his words," as the Rambam wrote about his father's mentor, Rabbi Yosef Ibn Migash. But he is not merely a scholar and a judge.

His role as a religious leader is now probably beyond comparison with anyone else in this country. Within the Eilat Hamizrah communities, he is revered to the extent that Hassidic rabbis are by their own "clans."

Within the Ashkenazi world of yeshivot, both in Jerusalem and Bnei Brak, he is accorded, at the least, grudging respect, but more often the highest esteem, simply on the basis of his scholarship. It is a remarkable case of sheer talent breaking through the toughest ethnic barriers, and also a tribute to the fact that, at the highest levels, Tora scholarship is a meritocracy.

But, as Rabbi Yosef knows better than most, the snobbish Ashkenazi world of scholarship required the upstart Sephardi to be much better than one of its own. In his case this was easy, but one wonders whether he has broken down the barriers to others as well.

Rabbi Yosef did not merely beat the Ashkenazim on their home-ground, he reversed trends and created new ones. He did not become an Ashkenazi while absorbing more Ashkenazi scholarship than most of his European-born colleagues have ever heard of. He went further and introduced to both the Mitznagim and Hassidic wings of the Ashkenazi ultra-Orthodox establishment a whole new area of learning, that they had not previously known existed: Sephardi scholarship from Rabbi Yosef Caro to the present day. The name and work of a later Sephardi halachist like Rabbi Haim Palagi, for instance, entered the Ashkenazi world through Rabbi Yosef's books.

The outward measure of this independence is that, alone among the new Sephardi religious leadership, Rabbi Yosef has not adopted the garb of the Ashkenazi yeshiva world. Since he is, to himself and his followers, the Rishon Le'Tzion — irrespective of deals by the NRP and other parties to replace him — he dresses in the formal robes of that office. They symbolize an independence from the establishment that is becoming steadily more real. Given the number of his followers, that independence is something that the rest of the country is going to hear a lot more about.

IT IS important to understand that Shas is no more than one expression of the overall revolution that Ovadia Yosef is leading. It is the political arm of a larger movement. In many respects, the political activity is no more than a means to an end, not an end in itself.

The main thrust of the movement, which has no name, but which we will call Shas for convenience, because the acronym for Sephardi Tora Guardians tells most about what it is. And what it wants is education. This explains, *inter alia*, how Shas got started.

The Sephardi *haredi* population was discriminated against, blatantly and systematically, by the Ashkenazi *haredim*, over a period of decades. Access to government funding, jobs for young seminary teachers training

other Ashkenazi. It is, and can only be Rabbi Yosef, who alone carries sufficient weight to deliver divisions, not just regiments, of voters. The issue that concerns the Shas movement, and on a narrower basis, Shas as a party, is Jewish education.

Rabbi Yosef himself is, first and always, a man of Halacha. His public lectures all reflect this, because although the content varies in line with the capacity of the audience being addressed, the theme is the same: The root of all Jewish life is learning Tora with a view to observing *mitzvot*, and the former is a pre-condition for the latter. Learning, in fact, is vital to penitence, and is the only thing that can sustain it. This is his message to scholars, who are already practising this ideal, and to newly-penitents (*ba'alei teshuva*) who are "returning to their roots."

TAKE THE show put on this week at Tel Aviv's Yad Elihu Stadium. On the same day that most of the country was tuned in to the State

THE rest of the story is well-known. Shas split off, had important successes in the 1983 local elections, and triggered a rift within the Aguda, between the hasidic and mitnagim elements which had long been squabbling over ideology and money. Bnei Brak's Ponevezh yeshiva head Rabbi Eliezer Shach swung his supporters behind Shas and the new party garnered four Knesset seats in 1984.

But the supreme religious leader behind Shas is not Shach or any

other Ashkenazi. It is, and can only be Rabbi Yosef, who alone carries sufficient weight to deliver divisions, not just regiments, of voters. The issue that concerns the Shas movement, and on a narrower basis, Shas as a party, is Jewish education.

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TAKE THE show put on this week at Tel Aviv's Yad Elihu Stadium. On the same day that most of the country was tuned in to the State

Football Cup final, the Or Hahaim *teshuva* movement organised a "grand demonstration" at the largest venue it could find. The idea was to bring thousands of the movement's supporters together, to hear some passionate oratory from its founder and head, Rabbi Reuven Elbaz, hailed as the number one "returner to the fold" within the growing penitent movement in Israel.

The truth is that Or Hahaim bit off more than it could chew. The stadium was only about two-thirds full, and the organization of the singers, performers, speeches and other goings-on was woeful. The audience, however, was unperturbed.

The centrepiece of the evening, an hour of brilliant preaching by Elbaz, left nothing to be desired for those who had come to hear him. It was easy to see why he personally was ready to tackle Yad Elihu — Madison Square Garden and Wembley Stadium would not have fazed him either.

Whenever Elbaz, or anyone else, mentioned Rabbi Yosef, the audience applauded enthusiastically. But the difference in speaking style between the two men could hardly have been greater. After the fiery and emotional performance by Elbaz, came a short, dry speech by Yosef delivered in the same dispassionate tone he uses for a class of Talmud in a synagogue.

What he said was also remarkable, given the occasion. While giving encouragement to Elbaz, his movement and his pupils, actual and potential, he spoke of penitence as helping to escape the spiritual void that the secular society lived in. But, he warned his audience, Tora study was the route to achieve these goals, and that would prevent them from going wild. He did not elaborate.

Yosef is effectively the patron of the Or Hahaim network, which has grown from nothing in the last decade or so, to the point where it now claims 152 different institutions throughout Israel.

It is now trying to grow much further. During the evening, the head of the Beit Shemesh council voiced on its behalf a really far-reaching demand — recognition as a separate educational stream within the educational framework, alongside the existing state, state religious and Aguda-dominated Hinech Atzma'i streams.

Elbaz's message to his audience on Tuesday night was simple. Kids have no hope to grow up as Jews within the secular system. They will end up in a spiritual vacuum that will suck them toward violence at home and in the street, drugs, sex, possibly intermarriage, certainly a split-away from their traditional parents. His solution: education through Talmud Tora schools in every locality. Here they would grow up with the right values, become a source of pride to their parents, and not drift away from tradition, away from home, and even away from the country.

This kind of stuff may seem primitive to the sophisticates of the Ashkenazi establishment. Amos Oz, for instance, has recently been speaking and writing of the possibility of an alliance between the self-styled "sane, dovish, secular Ashkenazim" who fear the forces of darkness may be taking over the country and who see Shas' Rabbi Yitzhak Peretz, and Rabbi Yosef as well, as Israeli Khomeinis, and the emerging Sephardi bourgeoisie who, Oz says, prefer pork to shishlik and football

on Saturday afternoon to synagogue on Shabbat morning.

Oz's thesis depends on the secularization of the Sephardi communities. Shas, led by Rabbi Yosef, and through the medium of organizations like Or Hahaim and charismatic leaders like Reuven Elbaz, is working in the opposite direction. True, the counter-attack by the religious is proceeding mainly among the lowest classes, and seems not to be having much impact on the *nouveau riche* Sephardi middle class. But it's early yet, with only a decade or two of development in both processes so far, and the outcome is still a long way off.

ELBAZ, at least, has grasped that the real battle has to be fought at the grass-roots level of primary education. In this he has the full support of Rabbi Yosef, who has been associated with Or Hahaim throughout. The kind of education they are plugging is essentially a carbon copy of the Ashkenazi *haredi* Talmud Tora system, and the kids and teachers already dress and behave the same way.

Despite having no overtly Sephardi roots, this Israeli-Ashkenazi *haredi* product, based on milking a generous welfare state, is being presented as a back-to-roots phenomenon, since the option of reverting to the religious education system of the Oriental countries is totally unrealistic. Sephardim and Ashkenazim alike, however, are happier believing that what they are building with budgets from the ministries of education, religious affairs and others, is what their great-grandfathers had in the autonomous, poverty-stricken communities of Baghdad and Bialystok.

Where it's all leading is open to research and speculation. Since the researchers generally approach their subject with preconceived ideas and closed minds, speculation is probably the better route.

The central point, that so many political pundits fail to grasp, is that the presence in the Knesset of Shas, like Agudat Yisrael, is not directed at the things those analysts think vital — the Arabs, the territories, the Lavi, the balance of payments, etc. That is why, on all these matters, the religious parties' votes are up for grabs — either to be bought by one of the big parties, or to be persuaded on a specific issue by experts presenting their case on its merits.

They win concessions from the big parties because what to them is central — education, community affairs, housing — is to the major parties, with their foreign affairs, military, and macro-economic fixations, marginal.

But the converse is also true. Shas and Aguda don't concern themselves with how the wealth is to be created to pay for the services it needs to support its constituents, how the security is to be provided for them to live in peace, and where the jobs are going to come from for those who can't spend all their life studying.

The secular and religious communities, expressing their preferences through the imperfect mechanism of political parties, clearly have totally different agenda. The religious, perhaps because their targets are more clearly defined, and their aims more modest, but also because they have popular leadership (authentic, if you like) of the calibre of Ovadia Yosef, are proving far more successful in realizing theirs.

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STAND BY ME

A new film by Rob Reiner.

ON A HILLTOP overlooking the fields and orchards of nearby moshavim stands a Greek Catholic church, with a cemetery alongside. They are all that remain of the small but one-time thriving village of Ikrit near the Lebanese border. The former residents, like the ex-inhabitants of Biram 20 kilometres to the east, want to return to their villages and rebuild their homes — nearly 40 years after they were forced to leave for security reasons.

Two separate, but essentially similar plans which would enable the evacuees to realize their dreams have now been put forward by Labour and the Likud.

But there are two sides to this sensitive and starkly human issue, apart from the potential political reverberations.

Jewish settlers, particularly those near the site of Ikrit, are vehemently opposed to the return of the former residents and their descendants. In two articles on this page, the evacuees and the settlers give their views.

A tale of two villages

MUSSA TAUMEH lay in a coma for over a month lingering on the edge of death. When he finally regained consciousness, he could remember nothing of the incident.

It was nearly two years before he was able to speak properly. Even today he is still partially paralysed as a result of the Egyptian bullet which struck him in the head while he was serving with the IDF along the border of the Gaza Strip, 32 years ago.

Yet Taumeh, a Christian Arab, has no regrets about joining the army and serving the state, despite his personal injury and the collective suffering inflicted on his brethren by the authorities.

Taumeh was born in the Upper Galilee village of Ikrit, a member of the close-knit Greek Catholic community there. In 1948, the 400 residents of the village, who had stayed put throughout the War of Independence, were told by the military authorities that they would have to leave for security reasons. Taumeh was 17 years old at the time. Like the rest of the villagers, he believed the promises made during the evacuation that they would be allowed to return to their homes.

Nearly 40 years, and several more promises later, the former residents of Ikrit are still waiting for the pledges to be fulfilled.

Taumeh volunteered for the army in 1953, just two years after the remaining homes in Ikrit were demolished on orders of the authorities.

The levelling of the village had a traumatic effect on all the former inhabitants who had been dispersed to various villages in Galilee and put in homes vacated by other Arabs who had fled across the borders during the war in 1948.

At that time Taumeh and his family, along with scores of other Ikrit evacuees, were living in the village of Ramleh.

Why, in view of the seemingly callous attitude on the part of the government, did he volunteer his

services to the state, almost giving his life in the process?

"I love the state and I wanted to do my bit," replied the 56-year-old disabled army veteran who now lives with his wife and two children in a well-appointed apartment on French Carmel in Haifa.

"It is true that we were not treated properly, but as a Christian I believe in forgiveness. Without forgiveness and love there is no hope. I have never given up the hope that one day we will return to our homes," he said.

"The Jews were 2,000 years in the Diaspora, before they returned to the Land of Israel.

"We are somewhat better off. We still live in our own country, although we are refugees from our homes.

David Rudge

"I go back to the village at least once a fortnight to visit the church and look at the land. I dream of going back and, with God's help, one day I will."

Taumeh noted that nearly 30 people from the village, including several of his relatives, had served in the security forces, either in the police, Border Police, prisons service, or the army itself.

His uncle, Hali Taumeh, was killed in the line of duty while serving in the IDF back in 1949, he said.

"I have another uncle who is a senior officer in the prisons service and his son is in the Border Police. Israel is our country and we see it as our privilege and our right to serve," he added.

ELIAS B'SHARA was 35 years old when the military authorities ordered the residents of Ikrit to leave their homes. The majority of the villagers grabbed what they could and went, leaving behind

many of their belongings, especially furniture, which they were unable to carry.

A few families, including B'shara's, stayed behind to guard the unprotected buildings and the remaining property. But six weeks later they were also instructed to move out.

"An officer came and told us to put all our belongings into a truck that the army people had brought with them," said B'shara, now aged 72, at his home in Kafr Yasif, east of Nahariya.

"We were told there was only the one truck and that we would have to put everything we could, from all the houses, on this truck because there would not be another opportunity," he said.

"We took what we could. My wife was carrying suitcases in one hand and our three-month-old son in the other. She couldn't manage, so she put him down and took the cases to the truck intending to go back for him.

"But the soldiers wouldn't let her return. She cried and pleaded with them, telling them she was going back to pick up our son, not for any other reason. We were both frantic. Despite the warnings, I returned. I told the soldiers that they could shoot me, but I was not going to leave our son.

B'shara and his family were taken to the village of Melia where they settled into vacant homes. They regarded this as temporary accommodation until they were allowed to return. But the days passed into weeks, the weeks into months and the months into years.

THE DISPLACED villagers of Ikrit and Biram, a Maronite Christian village 20 kms to the east of Ikrit, took their case to the Supreme Court which supported their demand and called on the government to allow the residents to return. Five months later, the bulldozers moved into the villages and demolished the remaining houses with the exception of the churches and two other buildings in Biram.

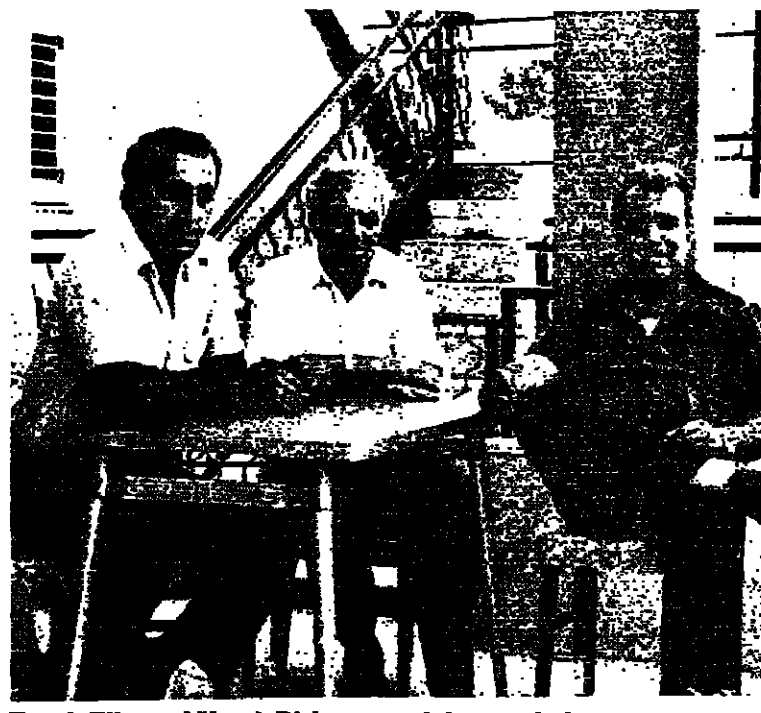
Despite this unequivocal answer to their demands, the evacuees continued to live in hope.

In 1952, B'shara joined the police force and a year later was transferred to the Border Police. It was a seemingly incongruous move for somebody who had suffered personally at the hands of the same military authorities.

B'shara, who has five children and ten grandchildren, explained that he had a three-fold reason for joining up. The prime motivation, he said, was to support his family.

"We had been farmers, but our land and our livelihoods were taken away when we left Ikrit. I had to earn a living somehow," he said.

"In spite of what happened to us, I continued to believe in the state and



Emad, Elias and Yacub B'shara...and the months became years.



Another generation, another place.

to support it. After all, this is our country too," he asserted, echoing the words of Mussa Taumeh.

"Thirdly, I hoped that demonstrating our loyalty to the state would help press our demands to be allowed to return to our village and the land of our fathers," he added.

B'shara served in the Border Police for over 17 years. He returned to the police for a two-year spell, before retiring in 1975.

Prior to the Six Day War in 1967, he was stationed in the Golan, near Geshar Ya'acov. His position was subjected to constant shelling by the Syrians on the Golan Heights. During that period a Druse sergeant in his unit was killed.

"I remember that my father used to phone us at home when he got the opportunity and we could hear the explosions in the background," said 37-year-old Emad B'shara.

"There were times when we feared that he might never come back. Nevertheless, we were very proud of him and the fact that he wore the uniform of the security forces. It was something special.

"At that time there were many people from Ikrit who volunteered to serve in the security services. The fact that they were serving with the Israeli forces did not disturb our Arab neighbours, although the situation has changed somewhat today," said Emad who teaches Jewish literature at an Arab school in Acre.

"The attitude of the Arab community today towards serving in the armed forces is negative. Similarly the number of former Ikrit residents volunteering to serve in the security forces today is also much less than in the past. I believe that is due to the fact that promises made to us over the years have not been fulfilled," said Emad.

THE PLAN put forward by Moshe Arens, the minister in charge of

'They are good people, but we must be practical'

"I UNDERSTAND and sympathize with the former residents of Ikrit," said Yehuda Derri whose herd of beef cattle now grazes on part of the land once occupied by the Christian Arab villagers.

"I know those who served in the army and the Border Police. I served with some of them myself. They are good people and loyal citizens and their demands are justified, but we have to be practical and pragmatic," said Derri.

"If two people try to sit on the same chair sooner or later there will be an argument if not worse, and that is the situation here."

Derri is a member of Moshav Shomera, a Jewish farming settlement established shortly after the War of Independence in 1948.

"I have been farming this land for 35 years, ever since I came to Israel as a teenager from Morocco. If I had known then that this land would one day be given back to the people of Ikrit, I would never have come here. I would have found a job somewhere else and maybe I would not have become a farmer at all," he added.

Derri, who has four children, two married daughters and two sons on the brink of marriage, was adamant that there could be no wedding of the two communities in the area.

"I class many of the ex-residents as my friends. I helped them clean up the cemetery and construct a road to the church," said Derri. We respect them as people, but we have to look to the future, as well as the past.

"There is simply not enough room for the two communities here. If they return and build new homes on the site of the village, at some later stage they will want to reclaim the land that they once farmed. It's only natural."

"That land is now divided up among three or four Jewish settlements including our own. We won't give up our land now after so many years, and nobody should expect us to."

Derri, aged 48, said there were 400 people on the moshav and all were of the same opinion. "I'm not just speaking for Shomera," he added, "but for all the farming settlements in the region."

"I have orchards and 70 head of beef cattle. I want to expand the business so that my sons will be able to support themselves and their families, so that they will be able to stay here."

"If Ikrit is rebuilt it will also expand and develop and there is almost certain to be a confrontation, if not an outright conflict," he added.

"This will cause social problems on top of the economic and security problems, for the farming settlements along the Lebanese border."

"We will not accept this additional burden and we will fight tooth and nail to prevent it," he asserted.

of the former Ikrit residents had already received compensation for their expropriated land.

"To be honest, some of them are just out for what they can get, while the others are truly committed and have held out against compensation in the hope of being allowed to return," he said.

"I can understand them. At the same time, I feel that the government should be giving priority to the financial problems of the existing settlements, rather than thinking of pumping millions of dollars into rebuilding two villages that have not existed for nearly 40 years," he added.

His views are shared by Ma'aleh Yosef regional council head Ya'acov Ya'acov. He noted that 15 farming settlements, out of the total 22 villages in the region, had run up debts totalling around NIS 60 million.

"Of the 15 agricultural settlements in the region, at least three — Even Menahem, Shomera and Goren — would be directly affected," Ya'acov said. "Much of what is the day their land, once formed part of the village."

"All 15 oppose the return of the Ikrit residents."

"Virtually all the Jewish settlers in this region are of Middle Eastern origin and we believe in straight talking. The proposed return of the former residents will create problems which nobody wants."

"There will be no infrastructure for these renewed villages, no work places for the people. At the moment they have jobs in Haifa, Acre, in the Arab villages and elsewhere throughout the country. What will they be able to do if they come back to their former homes? Has anybody thought of that?"

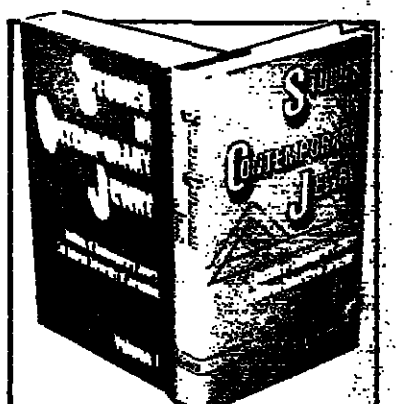
When the Arens plan was announced, Ya'acov declared that Jewish settlers would quit the area if the Arabs returned. He subsequently toned down his comments.

"I said that in the heat of the moment because, like many of the settlers, I was very upset when I heard about the details of Arens' plan," said Ya'acov.

"On the contrary, we will do whatever is necessary to preserve our homes and way of life, even if it means camping outside the Knesset for two or three weeks."

"These are our homes and our land and we won't let the government take them away from us," he added.

DAVID RUDGE



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ARGUMENT



Sari Nusseibeh

Hanna Siniora, editor of the East Jerusalem 'Al Fajr' newspaper, said yesterday that he will seek legal opinion before going ahead with his plan to form a Palestinian list to run in the next local election to be held in Jerusalem.

This follows rejection of the proposal by the PLO and prominent local Palestinians. Dr. Sari Nusseibeh, who originated the idea, outlines his views on the issue in this interview with The Jerusalem Post's Joel Greenberg.

THE SINIORA PROPOSAL

The godfather hesitates

"I'm a theoretician," says Dr. Sari Nusseibeh, dismissing reports that he will head a list with Hanna Siniora in the next Jerusalem municipal elections. The godfather to the proposal broached last week by Siniora, Nusseibeh withdraws to the realm of thought, and prefers to speak of the idea non-committally, an option — certainly not as a practical initiative he would join at this time.

"One has to have an open mind, and discuss and think about every possible scenario. We've been had for 20 years, and have to work to get the best deal for ourselves," says Nusseibeh, who teaches philosophy and logic at Bir Zeit University.

Nusseibeh went public two months ago with the idea of taking part in Jerusalem municipal elections. He mentioned a possible coalition in a future city council between Palestinian and ultra-Orthodox Jewish factions.

Nusseibeh, whose late father, Anwar Nusseibeh, was a Jordanian defence minister, lives and works in the West Bank, but speaks with an analytic detachment and ironic humour more appropriate to an observer looking at the situation from afar.

In his articles and lectures, Nusseibeh has often been at the cutting edge of original thinking in the territories on how to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and his ideas have often appeared somewhat radical, two steps ahead of the current situation and prevalent political ideas.

Siniora's proposal to run for the Jerusalem municipal council was perhaps the first practical product of the ideas Nusseibeh has been sowing in the Palestinian community. Foremost among them has been the demand for equal political rights within the Israeli system — a notion based on the de facto annexation of the territories, and a step toward a binational state.

JN ANNOUNCING his proposal, Siniora said he wanted to provoke

thought and discussion among both Israelis and Palestinians, and start a local initiative to break the deadlock in the Middle East peace process. But Nusseibeh has remained aloof, labelling the initiative immature and politically foolhardy, because it was taken without prior discussion and endorsement by the Palestinian community.

Nusseibeh said the proposal served Israeli aims of isolating Jerusalem from the rest of the West Bank, by suggesting a solution in the city only, and not as part of a broader demand for political rights throughout the territories. The idea could only become practical, he said, if it was democratically endorsed by the PLO as part of a demand for equal political rights in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, when current efforts to negotiate a peace settlement have failed.

For now, Nusseibeh prefers to talk about that strategy as one scenario, and he says he has avoided throwing his weight behind it because he still holds out hope that an international peace conference will meet and the Palestinians will get their own state. The choice, Nusseibeh says, is between dividing the land or its government — between a two-state solution, and a binational state with equal Palestinian rights.

Nonetheless, he says that Siniora's proposal, vindicates his theory that Palestinians in the territories are in effect moving toward assimilation into Israeli society which will ultimately lead to demands for political rights. "In 1967, our original position was to resist anything Zionist, and we talked about the 'so-called' Israeli state. Now we carry ID cards with the emblem of Israel."

"It began with agreement to apply to the Israeli authorities to open newspapers, later, with participation in Israeli-organized municipal elections in the West Bank, petitions to the Israeli High Court of Justice, applications for Israeli travel permits and business licences."

Why Palestinians are opposed

HANNA Siniora's proposal to form a Palestinian list to compete in the next municipal elections in Jerusalem was roundly criticized this week by Palestinian supporters of both the PLO and Jordan. Virtually all have argued that the idea amounts to Palestinian legitimization of Israel's annexation of East Jerusalem, and would yield no political benefits for the Palestinians. Siniora was criticized in his own newspaper, *Al Fajr*, whose owner, Paul Ajlouny, published an announcement dissociating himself from Siniora's proposal.

A typical reaction appeared in an editorial published by *A-Shaab*, which reflects the more militant wing of Fatah in the PLO. "Is it reasonable," the paper said, "that we should accept the legality of the unification of Jerusalem, when we were not consulted about it? Is it reasonable that the world, including the U.S. should oppose the illegal annexation of Arab Jerusalem instead of us whose cause it is? And could such elections be held in Jerusalem, which is subject to the same conditions, orders and laws as the rest of the occupied territories? Can we separate Jerusalem from the rest of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?"

Anwar al-Khatib, the former Jordanian governor of Jerusalem, termed Siniora's idea "no more than a joke." Al-Khatib said he was "very bitterly against the idea, because it means recognition of Israeli annexation of Jerusalem, which has been rejected in the UN Security Council, and by countries who have moved their embassies to Tel Aviv. We will never participate in a 'united Jerusalem.' Our current payment of city taxes is imposed on us by force. The municipality is not an area for political gains."

Deposed Hebron mayor Mustafa Natsheh said he did not believe "any national figure" in the territories supported Siniora, and said he did not think Siniora would succeed in forming a list for the next elections. "The proposal recognizes the situation now prevailing in the city, and this would work to the political advantage of the Israelis. Our problems are not municipal issues of paving streets, but a



Hanna Siniora

political one. By joining the elections, we will concede recognition and gain nothing."

Natsheh said participating in elections to Jerusalem's municipality could not be compared to past Palestinian participation in elections to Arab municipal councils in the West Bank.

A lone voice in favour of the idea was Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij, who said it merely confirmed existing realities, and would not have political implications for the future of the territories.

"A municipality is not a political institution or sovereign institution, but rather a public institution to serve the people, whoever they may be. As long as residents of East Jerusalem have the right to vote they can also be candidates for elections. All shops, obtain permits from the Israeli municipality, they pay city taxes and receive benefits. Why are we blind to the facts? After opposition to 1972 municipal elections in the West Bank, there was great support for the 1976 municipal elections."

"West Bank municipalities do not decide the political future of the area. It will have to be decided in peace negotiations, and is unconnected to the presence or absence of Arabs in Jerusalem's municipal council."

JOEL GREENBERG

Arye Naor argues that the 'irregulars' in the West Bank are serving the enemies of Israel

The militia danger

THE ATTACKS by Jewish settlers on civilian, unarmed Arabs at Dehaishe were so stupid from their own point of view that at the first moment one could assume that they had been plotted against the settlers themselves. They were not only a serious propaganda mistake: they also threatened the very foundations of the Israeli settlements in Judea and Samaria.

Who could stand to gain from turning the fight against terrorism into something resembling a civil war in the territories under IDF administration? Certainly neither Israel nor the settlers, who wish Israeli sovereignty to be fully applied in these territories. Whose case could be better served by turning the clock back to the '30s, when the two communities fought each other with irregular forces? Certainly not the Jewish state, whose authority and power are impaired by the actions of an irregular force in any territory it controls. It makes no difference whether the motivation of the irregulars is to strengthen Israeli settlements in the territories, as in the current case, or to weaken it. The state itself, is weakened by such deeds.

Apart from legal and ethical considerations, the events in Dehaishe serve the enemies of Israel and their cause. From a rational point of view, the hooligans, as Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin labelled them, were acting against the national interest, as well as against morality. This is so obvious that one was justified in suspecting a conspiracy against the settlements and in favour of the PLO, carried out by enemy agents and their collaborators. The last ones whose interests seemed to be served were the settlers, and why should they undermine their own interests?

Only when some Kiryat Arba settlers appeared on the media, attempting to explain their motives, did it become clear that this was not a sophisticated provocation but an act of folly. What Rabin described as "a first-class scandal" and Aluf Amram Mitzna had earlier called "a vile act," had indeed been perpetrated by Jewish settlers.

THE EXACT details of the events at the refugee camp, the identity of those involved and their criminal responsibility, will be decided in due course by a court of law. But even before making any specific accusations, it is clear that violent acts were committed against a civilian population, and beyond the legal questions there are political implications which should be dealt with publicly and urgently.

The hooligans, whoever they may have been, were not as irrational as they appeared to be at first glance. Here were cool calculations and a political target beyond the wish to teach the Arabs a lesson. The aim was not self-defence.

If the intention was, as the settlers claim, merely to protect their own settlements "and nothing more," they need not have demonstrated by breaking bottles in the streets of Kalkiya and solar heaters in Dehaishe. If they really wanted to persuade the army to take the initiative in defending them against Arab terrorism, they should have demonstrated in front of the Defence Ministry in Tel Aviv or the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem.

Why did they have to do it inside Arab towns? Why were they ready to confront the IDF — in Kalkiya only verbally, but in Dehaishe physically as well — notwithstanding the damage they would inevitably do to themselves in the eyes of the public.

THE ANSWER is very disquieting. These people are ready to pay the price of confronting the IDF and the public damage it causes because it helps them in the implementation of their strategy. With all the talk about an international peace conference there are signs of an increasing tendency to defy the government if it adopts an unwelcome policy.

Both reflect an absolute belief in their way and a contempt for any government that would lead the nation in another direction. Nevertheless they see the potential danger in case there are negotiations over the future of Judea and Samaria. What they fear most is that the unresolved demographic problem could lead to the neglect of Jewish rights.

Therefore some of them want more unrest in the territories, hoping that in the end it will force the army to harden its treatment of the Palestinians. Indeed, the angry reactions to their wanton behaviour inside Dehaishe had resulted in a stronger military policy.

If, in the end, inhabitants of the refugee camp are moved to another place in order to safeguard the adjacent highway — such an idea has already been mentioned — the most extreme of the settlers will be satisfied. Their aim is to frighten the Palestinian civilian population into a kind of war of attrition, in order to have them prepared to leave the country when the day comes.

That is the real meaning of the principle of collective punishment so strongly advocated in these circles. One of the ideologists of the extreme wing, Israel Eldad, has already said this explicitly in a newspaper article.

recommending the removal of the refugees "meanwhile" to another place under Israeli control. "Meanwhile," because in the end they will be removed to Jordan, "the real Palestinian state."

That is the reason for doing what seems so unreasonable. It is not by keeping the territories quiet, but by engineering a Wild West atmosphere that one can hope to manipulate the government into using coercive power against the Palestinians, in order to impose law and order. The dialectics of manipulation are not represented exclusively by Leninists.

Manipulating the government and promoting a policy of "removal" is only one side of that coin. It also has a direct internal message. If the worst comes to the worst and Israel decides on a territorial compromise, or any other form of withdrawal from, or even in, Judea and Samaria, the decision would never be implemented, for the simple reason that some of the settlers would resist. And who is ready to make peace at the price of a civil war?

THE IRREGULAR forces, who show signs of readiness to clash even with the IDF should remind us of Lebanon, and the role of the militias in destroying the Lebanese state. The government should reconsider its policy with regard to supplying weapons to civilians. We have already witnessed an attempt to form an underground organization among settlers. Now, when some of them act as an irregular force, that policy may be even more dangerous for the future of our democracy.

The loud voices in defence of the hooligans, trying to explain the mild motive, "just to protect Jewish lives," show that they enjoy powerful support from political circles which, despite their criticism of specific violent actions, agree with them, at least implicitly, on their long-term aims.

It is in that light that one should see the vicious, personal attacks on Aluf Amram Mitzna. The verbal violence is not aimed at him alone.

The anonymous slogans on Jerusalem's walls calling for his resignation, the Kach posters and the public criticism by MKs of a soldier in uniform who cannot answer them, are meant to find favour with the settlers, moderate as well as extremists. But the attacks are also intended to demonstrate to the executive branch, to politicians and even to judges, that they will be well-advised to give up exaggerated criticisms of the good guys standing in the front line of the national battle against our bloodthirsty enemies.

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basic human rights, and reflect a trend of Palestinian assimilation into Israel which already exists.

He notes that though the recent Palestine National Council meeting in Algiers endorsed a two-state solution, Yasser Arafat made statements later in support of a democratic binational Israeli-Palestinian state, in which both peoples would live side by side.

Until the moment of change in Palestinian strategy arrives, Nusseibeh says he is content to continue thinking and writing, providing Palestinians with the ideological tools to understand their condition.

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The thorn in Peres's side

"DON'T WORRY," I told my party colleagues on the committee. "It might not sound sharp enough to you. But rely on Peres - he'll make sure it seems sharp enough to the general public. Let Peres do the job for us.... Give him the rope - and leave the rest to him."

Ehud Olmert (Likud-Herut) recalls his canny, crafty tactics in the Eban Committee with evident satisfaction.

This rising politician-lawyer-fixer, who has been a personal thorn in Peres's side for years, did apparently read the political-psychological scenario more acutely than any of his fellow-members on the Knesset subcommittee investigating the Pollard affair.

The key phrase, which elicited scepticism from the other Likud men when Olmert proposed it, and a torrent of intemperate diatribes from Peres when it was published, was "First among equals."

Because of that seemingly obvious characterization of a prime minister's role vis-a-vis other senior ministers, Peres publicly tongue-lashed his longtime supporter, Abba Eban - and, in turn, found himself castigated and spurned for doing so, even by people who otherwise have little political sympathy for Labour's elder statesman.

Olmert says he didn't lift the phrase from Jeffrey Archer. "I never watch television, apart from news and sports. No time." The definition, he notes, is a textbook classic for prime ministers in cabinet systems of government.

"I told Eli [Ben-Elissar, the ranking Likud member on the subcommittee], 'Let's not overdo it with the language. We'll give him [Peres] the rope - and he'll hang himself - and Rabin too.'"

To set this trap for the harassed and defensive Labour party leader, Olmert conducted a well-planned campaign of what might be called "drafting attrition" against subcommittee chairman Eban.

He and the other two Likud men (Ben-Elissar and David Magen, Ariel Sharon's close confidant), submitted draft reports that outdid each other in sweeping condemnations of Peres and Rabin, and injudicious formulations.

A long process of whittling down followed, and eventually Olmert confronted Eban with that one phrase - as a take-it-or-leave-it option.

He rejects the word "manipulation" to describe his tactics towards the chairman. "Even benches of judges work through what is essentially the same process of language refinement, in a give-and-take pattern," he says. "I kept reminding him where he comes from, and whom he'll have to face. I said, 'Look, Eban, when the subcommittee finishes its job, no one's going to ask, 'What did [Micha] Harish [Labour] say? Or what did Olmert say? With due respect to both of us, everyone will be asking: What did Abba Eban say? Are they to be told that Abba Eban refused to issue a joint report [with the Likud members] because that report would have recognized the primacy of a prime minister over other ministers...? How will people see that? Eban, you're not Micha Harish, who has to report back to some Haim Yankel at some party branch...'

Olmert attributes the Likud's "political success" in the Pollard report "to the fact that Shamir is a cleverer man than Peres." Shamir, he says, "never attempted to deflect his share of responsibility, and I for my part never for one moment thought of exonerating Shamir, or Arens. The question was: how much responsibility?"



Daid Landau interviews Likud's Ehud Olmert, the man who labelled Shimon Peres 'first among equals' in the Eban committee's report on the Pollard affair.

HAVING HURT Peres badly with the report, Olmert now seeks to twist the knife. "There have been two episodes in which we have got into difficulties with the Americans - and both of them reflect a tendency to adventurism on the part of Peres. Irangate and Pollard exhibit similar patterns of behaviour: a lack of any supervision on the one hand, and highly 'imaginative' ideas on the other. The myth of Peres as an efficient prime minister is completely destroyed, in my opinion, in these two affairs."

"Granted, Peres contends today that everything in Irangate was done with the prior approval of the Americans. And there is no one here who does not accept that. But at the same time, the performance of the Israeli side was absolutely infantile.... He recalls that Peres told the Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee after the Pollard bomb-burst that he had originally intended to remove Rafi Eitan from the cabinet. "But whom did he want to fill in his place...? Amir Nir!"

Olmert also returns to, by now well-worn Likud allegation that Peres lied to the subcommittee back in November 1985, a allegation vehemently denied by Peres himself and vigorously condemned by Eban and the Labour members of the panel.

As regards Peres' own repeated accusation that the subcommittee leaked like a sieve, and thereby discredited itself, Olmert says - as indeed does Eban - that the leaks were all about the party-political machinations within the committee. "Not a single secret, or piece of sensitive information was leaked. This subcommittee has heard much more sensitive information in its time - and nothing has ever leaked out. And Peres knows it."

He himself "didn't leak anything to anyone. I swear to God. Right from the start, I believed the subcommittee's report would be the way I wanted. So obviously I wouldn't do anything to discredit or weaken the subcommittee, and the impact of its report."

He names two members - one Labour and one from the Likud - who, he says, leaked all the time. "And he does not believe that, in the long view, the subcommittee was discredited. 'We established new standards: no longer can a minister tell the Knesset - in the form of the subcommittee - 'This is secret, you cannot know, you cannot review the government's actions.'"

QUESTION: Pollard, from his prison cell, still maintains - after the event - that the information he conveyed to Israel was so important that it justified what he did....

Olmert: In purely practical and pragmatic terms, disregarding for the moment the moral dimension in the U.S.-Israel relationship, the only way such action could be worthwhile, and therefore justified, is if you aren't caught.

You cannot justify it solely on the basis that the material is beneficial. You have to ask yourself whether the damage caused by your getting caught. Getting caught is not a mere hypothesis: it has to be a realistic proposition.

In Pollard's case, I can tell you that the actual and potential damage that flowed from his having been caught is greater than the benefit afforded by the information he conveyed.

QUESTION: But could you have said the same before the event? That is, before one knew what information would be conveyed. Can you imagine a situation in which the information conveyed would outweigh

the damage caused by his being caught? Many ordinary people, American Jews and Israelis, ask why - given the close relationship between the two countries - the U.S. saw fit to withhold the information [which Pollard stole].

Olmert: That is a serious question which, in circumstances were different, would rightly require a searching examination and debate between us and the U.S. But today we cannot approach such a debate with clear minds - because we were caught red-handed.

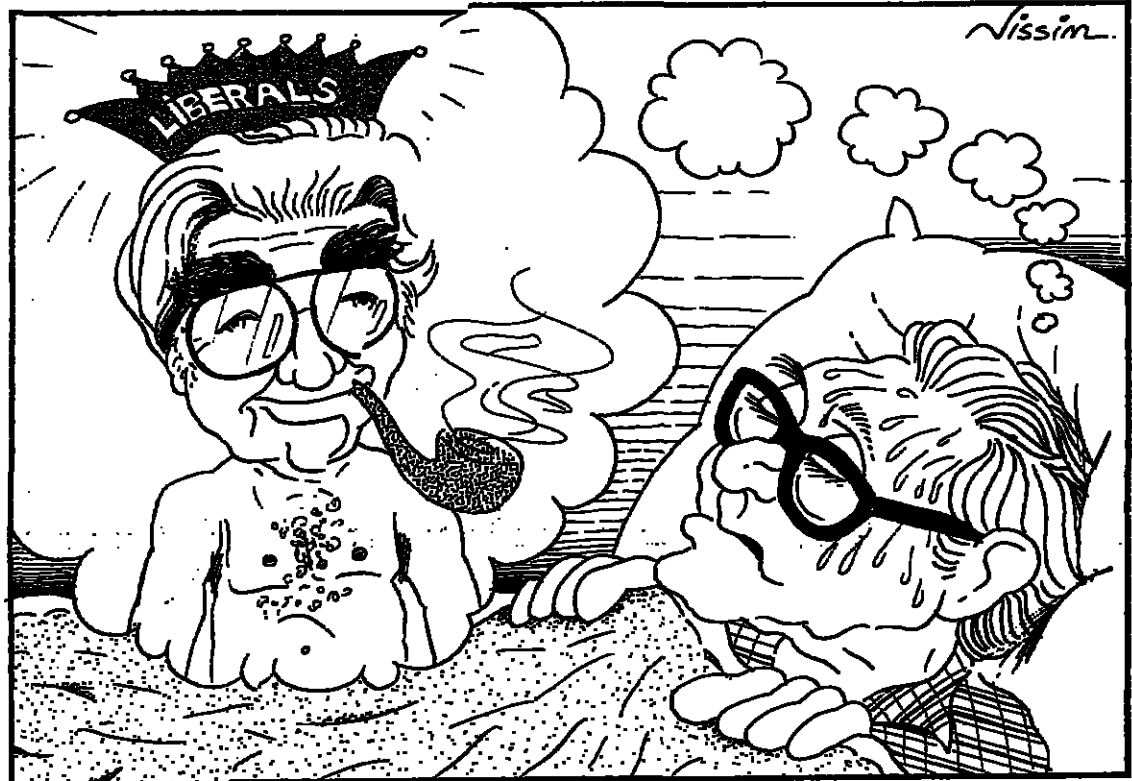
There are several areas where, regrettably, the U.S. does not fulfil our expectations. For instance, I would like the U.S. to support the settlement [in the administered areas] and to finance the Lavi from start to finish. After all, if Israel is a strategic ally, why can't they shell out another 12 billion dollars so that we have a new airplane...? But what do we do when it turns out, the U.S. is not our friend, but not our enemy either.

QUESTION: But in the Pollard case, sharing the information with Israel would not have cost the U.S. taxpayer money.

Olmert: Well, apparently the U.S. doesn't fulfil our expectations, whether or not they cost money. I presume that the U.S. sees us as its interest in protecting Israel from attacking and that freedom of action that might be considered independent of American guidance. The fact that we are engaged in a debate with the U.S. Army, also is another example of the U.S. not making progress in the field - but only if our freedom of action is closely and constantly monitored and controlled by Washington. This is a fact of life that we have to live up to.

A new Liberal revival?

Porah Getzler



ners in the negotiati-
"The problem is ideology, not the scramble for place on the list," Virshubski says.

"Liberalism denied in Israel - and in Europe - that matter - because it fails to present the electorate with clear-cut platform. It's always been a matter of 'on the one hand, as on the other,' of seeing the other side, that's not how you do up a political manifesto."

He noted when reminded that the DMC was dismissed by its opponents to the right and left as a supermarket of ideas.
Virshubski, who is not a member of the Shinui team negotiating for the establishment of the united Liberal front, says that the trouble with the recently formed and seemingly already defunct Liberal Centre Party, is that it was set up not as a result of any groundswell. It was the pushing of a group of disgruntled once-upon-a-time leaders who wanted to get back to the "good old days" of the General Zionists.

The Liberal Centre hasn't held, says Virshubski. "The rows began immediately with the founding congress! That failure to achieve any sense of a new beginning is the real difference between the Liberal Centre and the DMC. The DMC was as great an electoral success as it was a political failure precisely because it

was a grass-roots endeavour that gave people a sense of involvement in creating something quite novel.

"And this is where I have the most serious doubts.
"If what we're talking about is seats for party hacks, then there's no point at all. People - the sort of people I believe we can appeal to - threw Labour out because of its corrupt face. And it still hasn't learned the lesson. Neither, of course, has the Likud. They simply out-did Labour on corruption."

"Ours is the electorate that says 'a plague on both your houses.' And that is an electorate that will want any projected Liberal front to be a little to the left of centre."

"Certainly, I would rule out any coalition with the Likud," he says, adding that he has only now recovered from "the trauma" of Shinui's "legitimation" of Ariel Sharon.

"But I would favour a coalition with Labour. The whole point is to be able to establish an effective peace front," he adds, with more than a nod in the direction of the CRM, some of whose membership, and particularly the group around former MK Boaz Moav, is known to want Virshubski in the party.

"On the other hand, the General Zionist element, men like Yitzhak Berman, for example, want a little more yiddishkeit, they're somewhat less dovish, rather more inclined to capitalism."

"In an attempt to draw up the

clear platform that I believe is essential, I'm very much concerned that we're going to be found lacking by both sides.

"It's the Tehiya and the CRM that are gaining in every opinion poll, simply because they present a clear message."

"If we're going to compete and do

better than Shinui's three seats, we have to spell things out: territorial concessions, an end to religious coercion, the rule of law. That is what the bulk of our potential electorate wants, and if that's not what they're going to get, why shouldn't they vote either Labour or the CRM?"

"The problem, as I see it, is going to be with the General Zionists. But that's my personal view - it will damage them and us, I believe. I've expressed that view in my party, and I stick by it, though of course I'll accept the majority ruling."

Virshubski, widely seen in the watchdog role against any infringements of civil liberties, proper legal procedures, and encroachments by the rabbinical authorities into the civil sphere, feels that both the old ILP and his own party must make the effort now.

THE ILP, once seen as a party of the older generation, made a strong showing this week with its 11th national congress attended by 601 delegates from some 100 party branches. And about half the delegates were well under 50 years of age. There was a refreshing mix of Ashkenazi and Sephardi, a sprinkling of Arabs and Druse, and even a handful of newcomers from Ethiopia. Deputy Premier Shimon Peres was the hero of the opening night, with his talk of peace widely applauded.

But the party's veteran leader Moshe Kol made a strong pitch for the negotiations with Shinui and the Berman group, and younger delegates indicated that they wanted to move in the direction of the Liberal front. "We don't want to be a satellite party," they said.

And they would probably agree with Virshubski that if the ILP - preferably expanded into a stronger

front - does not fight the next election, it will be psychologically broken. Despite the deep sense of party loyalty and commitment that Virshubski finds in its membership.

Shinui cannot break out of the small party syndrome, it will be stuck there forever, he believes, though he thinks such parties have a role to play in "acting as the tug-boats who steer the larger parties into and out of the harbour."

But there remains the problem of personalities, and particularly the thorny question of the Liberal Centre leader Arvi Dulin, whom Virshubski has attacked consistently and ferociously for his role in the scandal surrounding the astronomical compensation paid to Ernest Japhet, head of Bank Leumi, and deeply implicated in the 1983 bank shares scandal.

"Dulin is the symbol par excellence of the failure of the establishment of the total abrogation of all responsibility."

"If he fills any office at all in the projected Liberal front - then they can count me out."

"If we want to make something new, then we've got to be clean, we've got to insist on 'ministerial' responsibility, on the rule of law, on reward and punishment."

"That the Liberal Centre has such a man as its chairman disqualifies it in my eyes from seeking public support. What's at issue here is not whether Dulin is a good guy or a bad guy. He's simply failed in the most serious manner."

Virshubski, who has been a thorn in Dulin's side since their relations began, will back down from any public function.

But Virshubski is a seasoned politician. "I want it in writing," he adds. One can only wonder whether that, either, would be any guarantee.

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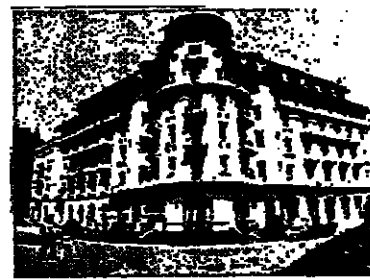


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TENNIS

Rain ruins Amos

LONDON. — Rain ruined Amos Mansdorf's last night in his third round match against 22-year-old West German Eric Jelen. After going down 6-4 in the first set, Mansdorf was in his most imperious mood in the second set, stamping his authority on the game, and seeming certain to win as he took that set 6-2. Jelen did not seem to know what was hitting him.

Mansdorf started the final set in similar style, and this time the weather worked against him. The score was 1-1, and Jelen was serving at 15-30, when the skies darkened over again, play was suspended, and Mansdorf went back to the dressing rooms.

When the players came back on court, all Mansdorf's sparkle had deserted him. Jelen took his serve, and broke Mansdorf's in the eighth game, giving him a 5-3 lead. The German then took his own serve for the match.

In the second round, Mansdorf gained a meritorious straight-set victory 6-3, 6-4 over Australian Mark Woodford in the second round of the Stella Artois grass courts championship at the Queen's Club.

Like all Australians, Woodford, 22, is strong on grass, and last summer he reached the semi-finals on grass at Bristol, the last tournament before Bristol.

Mansdorf is serving and volleying very effectively, and seems to be very happy on grass, a fact which augurs well for his chances in the Davis Cup in India.

Boris Becker, surprising even himself with the quality of his play,

continued his preparation for Wimbledon by whipping John Sadri 6-4, 6-4 to reach the quarter-finals.

Becker slammed down 10 aces and dropped only seven points on his serve throughout the match as he overpowered the American.

Becker's opponent in the last eight will be America's David Pate, who edged countryman Bill Scanlon in a two tiebreakers, 7-6, 7-6. Pate is a protégé of former world number one star, Pancho Gonzalez. Play has been delayed by heavy rain and hail.



Amos Mansdorf (Hanech Guthmann)

Victory at last

Israel's centre Lavon Mercer shoots one of just three baskets he had last night over the outstretched arms of Romanian defenders Alexandru Sinereanu (top) and Florentin Emarache.

(Reuter telephoto)

Post Sports Staff and Agencies

Shooting ace Doron Jamchee scorched the nets for a whopping 44 points as the Israeli national team closed out an otherwise disappointing performance in the European Basketball Championships with a 97-87 victory over Romania yesterday in Athens.

The victory put Israel in just 11th place among the 12 finalists, but more important sentenced Israel to a year of B division play for failing to make the top eight.

Howard Lassoff had 14 points, Ari Rosenberg 12, and Motti Daniel 10 for Israel. Dan Niculescu led the Romanians with 20, followed by Cosel Cernat with 17.

In a surprise win on Wednesday night, Greece overpowered a previously unbeaten Italian side to reach the semifinals for the first time.

Backed by a wildly enthusiastic crowd, Greece led throughout the match to win 90-78 after leading 49-35 at halftime.

Star Greek player Nikos Galis notched up 38 points to remain the highest scoring player of the tournament.

It was the first time in 37 years that Greece had beaten Italy and at the stadium a police crowd had to hold back the ecstatic crowd.

Greece today meets Yugoslavia, who beat Poland 128-81, while Spain take on the Soviet Union.

BASEBALL

Twins back on top — despite Blyleven

NEW YORK (AP). — Two weeks ago they were five games out. But the Minnesota Twins, among the preseason favorites, have climbed back on top.

The Twins seem to cover their mistakes well. Bert Blyleven has given up a homer in 20 straight games, and his 24 homers is well ahead of last year's pace when he allowed a record 50.

He gave up another on Wednesday night to Bo Jackson in the sixth inning, which gave Kansas City a 3-0 lead. But Steve Balboni committed a three-run error in the eighth and Gene Larkin hit a one-out, RBI single in the 10th, enabling Minnesota to win their fifth straight game 4-3 and take the American League West lead by one game over the Royals.

In other games, an earthquake that rattled 16 states from South Carolina to Canada shook Tigers Stadium during the Milwaukee Brewers 8-5, 10th inning victory over Detroit.

The players said they did not feel the tremor that occurred in the first inning, but the press box rattled for over a minute. "You could look through the glass in front across the other side of the press box and see a kind of shaking," Tiger spokesman Craig Shea said. "It was amazing even."

B.J. Surhoff hit a three-run homer in the 10th inning, snapping Detroit's five-game winning streak.

Red Sox 15, Orioles 4

Rookie Ellis Burks and Marty Barrett both hit grand slams and Jim Rice had three RBIs as part of an 18-hit attack for Boston, who won their fourth in a row and gave Baltimore their seventh straight loss.

Burks also hit a two-run homer and drove in seven runs and Barrett went 4-for-5. Al Nipper, 5-5, pitched a seven inning.

Barrett and Burks were part of record-setting night in the American League. With Tony Bernazard's grand slam for Cleveland, the three tied an AL record for most grand slams in one day, which had occurred 13 times before, the last on August 18, 1966.

Alan Ashby of the Houston Astros in the National League also hit a grand slam, tying a major league record of four not also times before, including last August 18.

Blue Jays 4, Yankees 3

At Montreal, Tim Lincecum had three hits, including a home run and a two-run double, and scored the winning run on Herm Winningham's 11th-inning single.

Perhaps the most encouraging development for Montreal was the pitching of starter Dennis Martinez, making his first major league appearance since September 28, 1986. Martinez rejected an offer to return to the Expos, became a free agent and went unsigned by any other team. He re-signed with the Expos on May 4.

Astros 10, Padres 1

At Houston, Alan Ashby drove in five runs with a grand slam and an RBI single. Danny Wadley started the fourth inning with a double. Glenn Davis was hit by a Storm Davis pitch and Jose Cruz walked to lead the bases. Ashby hit a 3-2 pitch over the center field barrier for the third grand slam of his 12-year major league career.

Mike Scott, 7-3, gave up one run on three hits in seven innings, and struck out seven to move past teammate Nolan Ryan into the National League all-time lead with 162.

Mets 13, Cubs 2

The Mets snipped out of a three-game funk as Dwight Gooden won his second straight start since returning from drug rehabilitation. Gooden went eight innings, giving up eight hits and two runs, striking out 10 and walking none.

He was supported by two home runs from Keith Hernandez and one each by Gary Carter and Tim Lincecum in a season-high 14-run attack. Elsewhere, it was San Francisco 9, Cincinnati 4.

AMERICAN LEAGUE EAST

WEST DIVISION

NATIONAL LEAGUE EAST

WEST DIVISION

Today's dressage a showcase for Israeli equestrians

By JACK LEON

TEL AVIV. — The Israel Horse Society is holding its first major competitive dressage today, with nine local entries in contention on an Olympic-sized arena at the Yarkon Park's picnic area. The event starts at 4:30 p.m., and admission is free.

Following the IHS's recent acceptance as a full member of the Federation Equestre Internationale, the international body is sending a dressage judge to the meet, the society's Candy Bliss told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday. The official will decide whether Israeli participants have reached a sufficiently high standard to take part in next year's annual Haig International Dressage Competition.

The festive gathering is being sponsored by the Talcot Corporation, Olivetti, Cargil and Goss.

The IHS's annual show jumping competition for the Rand Shale Trophy. The meet takes place at the Yarkon Park's picnic area, starting at 9 a.m.

English cricketers set to fight S. Africa ban

LONDON (Reuter). — Geoff Cook, chairman of the English Cricketers' Association, predicts a backlash from his members if the International Cricket Conference bans any players with South African links.

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Ma'ariv THE JERUSALEM POST

Rental, one week vacation in Tiberias Club Hotel, from 21.87, 02-18187.

Vacation flat for 2 families, Beit Yehon, near sea, Lisona, 063-86545.

Miscellaneous
Small old home, Haratz, number of places left, personal supervision and devoted attention. 052-57545, 052-72227.

Jerusalem Flats
Rental, one week vacation in Tiberias Club Hotel, from 21.87, 02-18187.

Contractors
Yigal and Elly Paron are building luxury flats, 5 + garden, 6 room cottage, Beit Hakerem, 51097, 051755, 661074.

Villas & Houses
Caring for information on Soviet Jewry requires senior secretary, Hebrew + English mandatory. Russian education. 02-430465, 02-430270, Yehon.

Flat clearance, electrical appliances, plans, 02-464925, not Shabbat.

Har Nof, installment All sizes, bank guarantees, Armon, 02-829217.

Moshé Mishmar Hashiva (Beit Dagan), house and 1 1/2 dunams for sale. 02-722158.

Ramat, furnished villa for monthly rent, immediate occupancy. 02-81557, 06-474592.

Lovely villa, Givat Hamivtar, 2 levels, separate 3-room flat, view, patio, parking. 02-430465, 02-430270.

Magdal Eitan, 5 room cottage, no balcony, 275sq.m., 105,000. 02-721746.

Messersdorf, beautiful, large villa swimming pool, garage, view. 344155.

Messersdorf, 10 room cottage, garden. 02-342431, not Shabbat.

Messersdorf, 10 room, 4 room cottage flat, 140,000. 02-342431, not Shabbat.

New Messersdorf, 2-family, luxurious, good area, 210sq.m., under construction, 125,000. Messersdorf and Mazon Zim, selection of plots and frames, detached villas. Elud Realty, 02-341827.

New neighborhood, half of 2 family, 250sq.m., large garden, unique construction and finish. 5324,000. 02-227736, 02-1200, 02-342431, not Shabbat.

Opposite Kinneret, new house, 350sq.m., 02-421856, weekdays.

Ramat, charming villa, view, quality, for serious, 305,000. 056210.

Rehavia border, 2-family house, ground floor, garden, 105sq.m., 24,000. 02-430465, 02-430270.

Armon, 3-level cottage, 250,000. 02-430465, 02-430270.

Baka, excellent penthouse and cottage, 250sq.m., 02-430465, 02-430270.

Beit Hakerem, huge penthouse, 2 terrace, view, Kaplan Realty, 02-259461.

Beit Hakerem, 5, 3 room, view, garden, private entrance, Av. Realty, 02-337370.

Har Nof, penthouse, 4.5, southern, immediate. Jerusalem 65, 02-538067-9.

Ir Ganim, Nereid, two-family available, large plot. 02-221166.

Kiryat Shmuel, Arab, entire house, balcony, quiet, modern, Kaplan Realty, 02-221166.

Nahlat, 2-story house, 200sq.m., 7 rooms, \$105,000. Exclusive to Messersdorf (Maiden), 225211, 247385.

Near King David Hotel, beautiful house, view, terrace, small garden. Tova Bler (Maiden), 225211, 247385.

Ramat Granit, New Messersdorf, two-family cottages, 3 levels, also 220sq.m., 3 rooms and basement, large garden, 105sq.m., 24,000. 02-430465, 02-430270.

Ramat 03 (Build-Your-Own), two-family villa, luxurious, 02-462840.

Rehavia, quiet and prestigious, entire house, 225sq.m., in small house, Tova Bler (Maiden), 225211, 247385.

Flats for Sale
Silon, flats, shops, plots. 02-227326, P.O.B. 463, Jerusalem.

Nahlat, 215 + room, garden (construction possible), for renovation. Zohar Realty (Maiden), 02-244716, 02-244727.

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Nahlat, 215 + room,

Unhappy birthday

Telereview/Philip Gillon

CHILDREN LOVE birthdays, probably because they consider correctly that every year brings them closer to freedom from their parents. Perhaps because our modern state is so young despite our people's long history, we celebrate like children the anniversary of every milestone in our lives, and every multiple thereof — every five years, every 10 years, every 13 years (bar mitzva) and every 18 years (the number 18 in Hebrew also means alive). If we weren't male chauvinist pigs, we'd rejoice every 12 years as well.

So we were anticipating having a wonderful time looking back in wonder and self-adulation on the 20th anniversary of the Six Day War. Unfortunately, the party was marred for us TV viewers by the left-wing mafia in control of Television House producing a series of programmes by no means calculated to inspire rejoicing. The party was turned into a wake — and not an Irish wake, during which everybody drinks deep and makes merry in honour of the dear departed, but a Jewish one, with moaning and groaning, sackcloth and ashes.

First there was Uri Goldstein's Friday night news magazine review of the consequences of 20 years of Israel's liberation of the land of our forefathers, known in biblical times as Judea and Samaria, and from 1948 until the Six Day War as the West Bank. Instead of showing how marvellous we Jews have been in the area concerned, he presented the 20 years from the point of view of the Arabs living precariously under our benevolent patronage.

Apparently, if we are to judge from the film we were shown, the Arabs are too ignorant and locked up in prejudices to enjoy the benefits of civilization we are bringing them. They do not appreciate curfews, and house searches, and interrogations by the Shin Bet, and being locked up for months without trial, and having their houses blown up, and being deported from their native land, and having the land they have owned for generations taken away from them to be given to more deserving people. According to the film, in fact, their ingratitude is reminiscent of that of the Indians of North America, the aborigines of Australia, the Maoris of New Zealand, the Blacks of South Africa and the Jews in Palestine under the mandatory regime.

Now was this the kind of stuff to show us at a birthday party? It was positively shameful. The crime was compounded by Yaron London's devoting the whole of his literature programme on Sunday night to an interview with novelist David Grossman, who has written a book called *The Golden Years*, in which he describes the glorious liberation of Judea and Samaria from the point of view of Arabs. He talks to children, who are playing shooting Jews, and they tell him how their sister was stolen away at night and taken to jail, and how the Arabs are beaten and humiliated.

Grossman insisted that he is not a political person, but a novelist. He explained that as such, he was not interested in causes, only in individuals. Incidentally, he was generally very interesting on the life of a writer — how he reacts when his children play with his typewriter, the long hours he works, and so on, but there was no disguising the fact that he was being very critical of the glorious occupation.

THEN, OF COURSE came the TV coverage of what is alleged to have happened at the Dehaishe camp on Saturday night. Notice that I say "alleged to have happened." I am very careful in my choice of language, because Genia Cohen told us on *Erev Hadash* that all the evidence must be very carefully collected and sifted. Dr. Strangelove went even further. He wants OC Central Command Auram Mitza prosecuted for breach of the *sub judice* principle because he told us on television what happened that night. So I won't write what happened, although, on the late news we got a very vivid description of what occurred from the reserve officer who asserted that he and his men were assailed by

Jewish settlers trying (and succeeding) to attack the camp.

Ah, but things are not always what they seem. For instance, every time I am supposed to have been to blame for a collision while driving an automobile, my car has been completely stationary on the correct side of the road. I have no doubt at all that the settlers and their wives will give evidence on oath that they were at home on that Saturday night, reading the Bible, especially the prohibitions in the Ten Commandments against killing and committing perjury and coveting your neighbour's property. So I will not commit myself.

But, readers will no doubt object, somebody was clearly out there on Saturday night, shooting at the houses, throwing rocks through windows, and wrecking automobiles.

For this there is an obvious explanation. Is it not probable that the attackers were really Arab terrorists or members of Peace Now or of Mitza's forces disguised as Jewish settlers, functioning as *agents provocateurs*? It would have been very simple: all they needed to do was to put long, false beards on their faces and *kippot* on their heads, and they could easily have passed for members of Kach.

In fact, they gave themselves away. That reserve officer who appeared on the late news reported that the attackers had wrecked a car which turned out to be owned by a Jew. Only Arabs or Peace Nowniks would commit so terrible an atrocity.

Incidentally, I must object to the application of the word "pogrom" to the activities of the settlers, even if it is proved that they committed all these dastardly acts. According to my dictionary, a pogrom is a "local disturbance, as a riot, pillage, etc.,

instigated by officials under the direction of the central government."

There seems to be no doubt at all that Saturday night's rampage was directed against the government and the IDF, and was certainly not carried out under government direction or with the government's blessing. So whatever this can be called — an atrocity, an abomination, vile, evil, wicked — it was not a pogrom.

The time may come when we shall consider the 20th anniversary of the Six Day War to have been a memorable one, because what was done at Dehaishe, against the IDF as well as the Arabs, was so shocking that it may bring the nation to its senses.

OTHER PROGRAMMES marking the 20th anniversary were also hardly calculated to please us. Several of them, such as the interviews with Miriam Eshkol, the widow of Levi Eshkol, and several generals from the Six Day War, had the effect of debunking our supreme idol of that war, Moshe Dayan.

We could hardly expect Mrs. Eshkol to think that Dayan had been the saviour of the nation and the hero of the Six Day War that he is according to legend. But all the generals agreed with her in painting a picture of a man who was irresolute when he had to decide on courses of action, firm and brilliant after the event, when it came to claiming the laurels of victory. This applied on both the southern and northern fronts.

Dayan's memory was also attacked on another programme, in which Adam Baruch of *Yedioth Ahronot* described his meeting with former general Shmuel ("Gorodish") Gonen in the heart of the African jungle, in the Central African Republic.

Gorodish was one of the most popular heroes to emerge from the Six Day War and all previous wars. He had been wounded many times, and had received the COS's citation for valor. After the Yom Kippur War, in which he was OC Southern Command, the Agranat Commission blamed him and the chief of the general staff, David Elazar, for the IDF's appalling lack of preparedness, and completely exonerated Dayan, then the minister of defence, of all blame.

According to Baruch, Gorodish spent months planning the assassination of Dayan, whom he accused of knifing him and the IDF in the back. Then he decided to clear his name. For nine years he has been mining for diamonds in the jungle, in order to accumulate enough money to enable him to tackle the entire Israeli establishment in a fight for justice. In the jungle, when he is not digging, he pores over the 1,500 pages by heart.

It sounds like the Count of Monte Cristo, and I would not dream of discouraging any man from trying to amass a fortune. But I think I should warn Gorodish that, as we have had such a disastrous war in Lebanon, and so many mishaps, affairs and commissions since 1973, I doubt whether he will collect an audience over the Yom Kippur War, especially as most of the principals concerned are dead. He is likely to encounter Bacon's cynicism: "What is truth, said jesting Pilate, and would not wait for an answer."

The very meek Moses

Tora Today
Pinhas H. Peti

The Tora portion read this week is Beha'alotcha (Numbers 8:1-12:16).

"AND JOSHUA the son of Nun, Moses' long-time minister, answered and said: My Lord, Moses, restrain them!" (Numbers 11:28). Any person with some experience in public or political life would certainly have agreed with Joshua. The situation cried out for immediate action, as it threatened the entire communal structure.

Advised by God (ibid., 11:16 onward), Moses had carefully assembled a representative public body of 70 elders. They gathered round the Tent of Meeting to be endowed with divine powers that would enable them to share with Moses the burden of the people, until now borne by him alone. What a marvellous group picture: Seventy elected leaders of the people prophesying together in national unity!

Suddenly, "the young man" came running to Moses with the news that two men, Eldad and Medad, were not with all the other leaders who prophesied round about the Tent of Meeting, but were "doing their own thing" right in the middle of the camp, obviously a flagrant anti-establishment demonstration. By breaking away from the rest of the prophesying leaders, they shattered the unity of the people rallying around Moses and the Tent of Meeting. Their defiance expressed itself not only in the act of independent prophesying, but also in its content. This is not mentioned explicitly in scripture, but relayed to us in the oral tradition (Sifrei Bamidbar, T.B. Sanhedrin 17a). According to which they proclaimed publicly that Moses would soon be dead, and it was Joshua who would lead the Israelites to the Promised Land.

Political history tells us that there is virtually nothing unique in "prophecies" of this kind, which declare the "old guard" to be *passé*, calling on the young officers to take over the command.

When the news reached Moses and Joshua that those were the slogans being voiced in the camp by Eldad and Medad, each reacted in a different way. Joshua was utterly adamant. His reaction sprang perhaps from both his long-standing, unrestricted loyalty to Moses as well as from his sound political calculation that any premature proclamations regarding his being the successor of Moses would bring an end to the possibility of its ever happening.

Joshua was convinced that he knew how to tackle the situation, yet he did not act on his own, but turned respectfully to Moses, suggesting that immediate action be taken: "My Lord Moses, you must shut them in!" In the original Hebrew this message is curt and sharp and consists of three words only: *adoni Moshe, kla'em!*

The ancient rabbis of the talmud midrash (quoted in Rashi's commentary ad. loc.), read two possible meanings into the word *kla'em*. According to one interpretation, Joshua proposed to have the two men Eldad and Medad arrested immediately (*kla'em*, from the same word as *kele*, a prison). According to the second interpretation, Joshua's

proposition was to appoint the men to high public offices and thus bring an end to their dangerous opposition (*kla'em*, from the same word as *kale*, bring an end).

Again, there was nothing unique in the "Joshua approach." To this day, both of the methods suggested by him (according to the two interpretations) are used to quash elements that represent a serious threat to the establishment. They are not always effective, however.

MOSES' reaction was altogether different. "And Moses said unto him [Joshua]: Art thou jealous for my sake? Would that all the Lord's people were prophets, that the Lord would put his spirit upon them!" (verse 29). Moses speaks from the position of strength of a leader who is so sure of himself, that he does not feel at all threatened. But there was more to his statement than cooling Joshua's "jealousy" and fear for him.

"Would that all the Lord's people were prophets!" Moses makes a declaration most daring for his time and perhaps for all times and all religions, stating that spiritual leadership is not limited to an aristocratic elite, but is open to all. This marks the beginning of the wide-spread democratization of the study of Tora, as a key to leadership, which became the hallmark of the world of the rabbis and spread to all segments of the Jewish community throughout the ages.

This utterance of Moses, like almost all other utterances in the Bible, did not remain one-dimensional in its simple and obvious significance. Some Tora commentators read into it a variety of meanings. For instance, that of the Italian rabbi Moshe Heifetz in his original commentary *Mikhet machshevet* (first ed. Venice, 1710). According to Heifetz, Moses said to

Joshua, "are you jealous for my sake?" There is nothing to worry about! Suppose that "all the Lord's people would [wish to] become prophets, would the Lord put his spirit upon them?" One cannot become a prophet at his own wishing alone without the cooperation of the Lord. That is why there is no room to be concerned and "jealous" about the two men prophesying in the camp.

Another such surprising interpretation, this one in a humorous vein, I heard from the late New York Jewish communal leader, Irving Bunim. It was at a fund-raising dinner for a certain yeshiva. When Mr. Bunim who was MC for the dinner noticed that the guests of honour gracing the "head table" were all venerable rabbis and scholars, he quoted the above verse in Hebrew: *mi yotzei kol um hashem nevi'im*, and translated it verbatim: "who will give (contributions for the charitable cause, when) all the Lord's people are prophets," rabbis and scholars!

ELDAD AND MEDAD were not the only "opposition" Moses had to withstand. Worse was yet to come when his own brother and sister spoke about him behind his back, criticizing his Ethiopian wife. When Tora relates this incident (ibid., 12:1-3), it adds: "And the man Moses was very meek, more so than any other man on earth."

This addition at this particular spot could come to praise Moses, who because of his excess humility was mindless of the gossip. Or, it comes to criticize him (as the above mentioned Heifetz writes) that because he was so self-effacing, he actually "invited" slander and abuse, which he could have avoided were he more assertive in his high position as the leader of his people. He should have known that weakness invites aggression and meekness invites criticism. Eldad and Medad, Aaron and Miriam did what they did because "the man Moses was very meek, more so than any other man on earth."



Moshe Dayan: an idol debunked.

(Israel Sun)

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'It's neither very realistic nor very viable,' argues Economic Reporter Avi Temkin

PRIVATIZATION of government corporations is very fashionable. Governments all over the globe are busy either planning or implementing a policy of transferring public enterprises to private hands. Even in Israel, the privatization process has found a champion in the person of Finance Minister Moshe Nissim, who wants to push ahead with his plans in the very near future.

According to some government officials, the sale of government corporations could swell the public coffers by billions of dollars, with some officials speaking of potential revenues of about \$10b. Not surprisingly, most Israeli officials and politicians wanting to privatize are looking to Britain for guidance on how to sell government corporations to private investors.

The British example is extremely interesting particularly for politicians. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's success has been based to no small degree on the sale of government corporation shares to the general public. In the past several years, the number of shareholders in Britain has almost tripled to 10 million.

Political wisdom would indicate that each of the new shareholders would want to see the Tories at the helm. The lesson for politicians is an easy one — if you cannot beat privatization, join it, before it is too late and somebody else takes credit for it.

But in Israel, that political wisdom would run counter to a much more rooted practice. Government corporations offer some ministers a golden opportunity to establish and extend their power. By appointing their supporters to boards of directors of these corporations, or other managing bodies, the ministers can buy long-term loyalties. Most of the

time the appointment does not involve any managerial tasks. The companies' professional managers are prepared to go along with this arrangement as long as it does not jeopardize their profitable operations.

Thus, the rule is that a minister is as powerful as the number of appointments he can make. Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon and Energy Minister Moshe Shabai are only extreme examples of this phenomenon. Others, like Transport Minister Haim Corfu have refused to swap their portfolios for other apparently more attractive ones, fearing to lose the advantages offered by the government corporation within their jurisdiction.

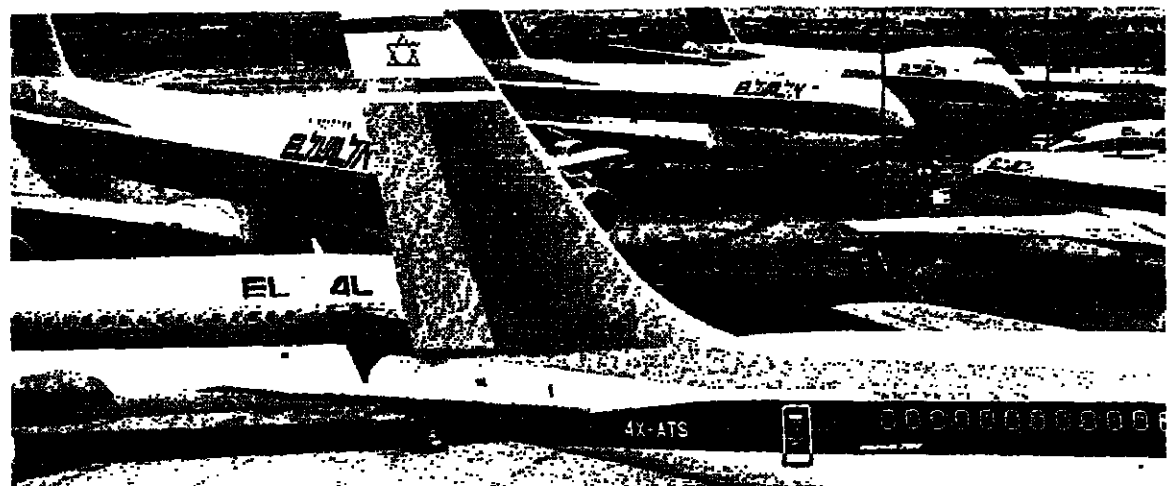
But Nissim can count on the support of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, who has learned the Thatcher lesson. The drive for privatization will not stop, and the finance minister is busy preparing practical steps to overcome the opposition of his colleagues with vested interests in public bodies.

NEVERTHELESS, even if political obstacles are overcome, Israeli privatizers still face a tough battle, simply because there are powerful economic considerations which may interfere with Nissim's plans.

First there is the question of profitability. No one is going to buy a firm which is not profitable. This would limit the number of firms which the government could sell with relatively small effort. Those saleable firms include Israel Chemicals, possibly El Al and a number of smaller firms. Other companies like Bezek, would prove much more difficult to sell.

Here again, it would be useful to look at the British experience. When the decision to privatize British Air-

THE MYTH OF PRIVATIZATION



Who would buy? "The market for a government airline under receivership is not exactly large." (Rabinger)

ways was taken, the company had 58,000 employees. In the process of rationalization that followed the decision to privatize, some 20,000 workers lost their jobs. It was the government's budget that had to compensate those workers, and probably continued supporting some of them through unemployment benefits, if they joined Thatcher's three million strong army of unemployed.

As a result of the rationalization drive and other actions, BA is now in, with forecast profits of close to £150 million for the coming year.

but the profits are accruing to the new shareholders. The costs were paid by the taxpayer.

The potential losses to the taxpayers do not end there. In many instances, government corporations have previously embarked on development projects entailing large expenditures. Such costs represent, for all practical purposes, part of the company's overhead. As long as those expenses are not recouped, they represent a financial burden for the company.

Corporation debts and liabilities also usually represent a deadweight, offsetting any potential operational

profits. The government usually has to pay part or all of the firm's debts, or write off development costs before it starts privatizing. Again, the burden falls on the taxpayers while profits go elsewhere.

ASSUMING all these arguments are rejected, and the cabinet decides to go ahead with privatization, there are still two further questions. First how is the government going to privatize — by floating shares, by tender or by negotiating directly with suitable purchasers?

Second there is the question of the corporations' value. Nobody really knows how much El Al is worth. The

market for a government airline under receivership is not exactly large, and without a market there is no price. If the government puts the price too high, it cannot sell the company. If it puts it too low, it would suffer capital losses.

Apparently one way of "getting the price right" is to negotiate with several potential buyers, who would compete among themselves. Every buyer would try to outbid its competitor, without paying a price which is unrealistic. But both Israeli and world experience have shown that direct negotiations with potential buyers is a very cumbersome method of privatizing, and usually ends without reaching any decision. Paz is Israel's classical example.

Perhaps the most effective way to privatize is to float shares in the stock market all at one time. This is what the British have done. But this method also has its drawbacks. It is not a simple solution, but involves complex operations, lots of accounting work, preparing a prospectus and trying to evaluate the firm's worth. Nor does such a method automatically lead to the right price.

Floating a new share involves setting its face value. In the British experience, this has meant involving merchant banks in the process. These banks are there to tell the companies and the government how to float, and what price to charge. But even then there are problems involved. Evaluating a firm's worth is not an exact science. Errors can be made and different opinions are possible.

Again, the case of BA is illuminating. In that case, two merchant banks were involved, one advising the airline's management, which wanted a low price for the shares to make them saleable, and one for the government, which wanted as high a price as possible.

The gap between management and government was 10 pence a share. BA wanted a share price of £1.20 a share and the government wanted a price of £1.50 a share. Eventually, a compromise was reached and the price was set at £1.25, with government revenue expected to be £900m.

Three months later BA shares were trading at £1.50. So the question is: Which was the correct price? If buyers are interested in BA when it is selling at £1.50, then the British government incurred large capital losses. But this is a theoretical question. No one will know whether it would have been possible to privatize the company at such a high price.

Another solution would be to sell the shares held by the government gradually, thus creating a market for them, and establishing a real value. The problem is that this solution combines the drawbacks of the two previous methods. It is cumbersome and it does not ensure that the right price will be charged.

During the next several months, or even years, the Israeli capital market will be busy digesting bank shares offered by the government in an attempt to avoid nationalizing the banking system. The country's capital market is a small one. In these conditions, trying to sell government corporation and bank shares at the same time, would doom the corporation float to failure.

Moshe Nissim has a long way to go before he can implement his privatization programme. With possibly little political time left in the life of the national unity government, his plans to privatize government corporations may yet prove to be neither very realistic nor very viable.

(Second of two articles. The first appeared on June 5.)

The enemies of expansion

ISRAEL'S TWO great economic failures in 1986 were the wage explosion and the drop in private savings. Result: a formidable increase in private consumption, according to speakers at a symposium run by the National Economic Planning Council (NEPC) in Jerusalem on Wednesday.

Exports increased by 12 per cent but imports rose still more, owing to a 14 per cent increase in private consumption. Instead of narrowing, the trade deficit widened by three per cent.

Opening the symposium Gad Ya'acobi, minister of economics and chairman of the NEPC, made a sombre criticism of his government's

record. "People are misled by the \$1 billion increase last year in our foreign currency reserves. It was due to the dollar inflow (partly aid, partly hot money) and to a fall in the price of oil. It does not reflect any improvement in the balance of trade," he stressed.

"The national unity government did put an end to the hyper-inflation which prevailed two years ago — and that was an important achievement; but we cannot rest on our laurels and must examine the situation afresh," he said.

He expects a foreign-exchange drain of \$1 b. this year. "Output is up," he states, "but it is all eaten by

consumption; it is not going to export."

Mordechai Frankel of the Bank of Israel emphasized that inflation in this country is still high at 20 per cent per annum, compared with less than 5 per cent in the developed nations with which we trade. Although our crisis of the early 1980s has been overcome, it is foolish to expect "instant economic growth," he said.

In the years 1982-86, capital input increased by 3 per cent, leading to a rise of 2.3 per cent in production (thanks to an increase of 0.2 per cent in productivity).

"If we can step up the input of capital by 5 per cent we should only get a growth in production of 3 per cent — unless productivity improves radically," he said. He suggested three policy measures to get the economy moving: first, a reform of the capital market. His second idea is to reform the tax system, by scrapping tax exemptions and using the revenue saved to reduce tax rates. Third, he urged an end to stop-go policies, that is, an end to the constant zigzag between spells of monetary expansion and contraction.

Professor Eitan Berglas, once head of the Treasury's Budget Division, agreed with Frankel's observation that wage inflation was the main obstacle to economic growth, but did not think it enough to call on the workers for restraint. The question is why did wages go up. One possible answer is that demand for labour in

most occupations exceeds supply.

Why did savings drop? That must be studied too. He pointed out that with the passage of time pension funds are paying out more benefits, so their outlays are rising faster than their income. Also interest-rates have declined, which reduces the incentive of private individuals to lend instead of spend.

"If the rate of saving cannot be restored to its former level," he continued, "there is no alternative but to create a budget surplus." In other words the government must spend (on public services) less than it earns (through taxes and other revenue).

The biggest expenditure item now under consideration is the Lavi warplane and Berglas was explicit on that subject. Launching the project was "one of the biggest mistakes made in Israel's economic history. Are we now moving to stage two of the same mistake?"

Yehezkel Flumin, formerly deputy minister of finance, believes that the cause of the fall in savings is that there are no attractive placement opportunities. "The public has the money, plenty of it — but finds no genuine outlet in the investment field. The best solution would be to sell government companies. There is a lot of talk about that, but nothing is done. Here is a chance of encouraging savings at the expense of consumption," he concluded.

Professor Zvi Sussman, formerly

deputy-governor of the central bank, warned against the continued rise in Israel's price index. The pace seems slow after the three-figure inflation of 1984, but in due course we shall have to devalue so that our goods will not be priced out of export markets.

The problem is worse than it seems. For goods which compete with imports the rate of inflation is 10 per cent, but in the sector of housing, services and other domestic items that do not figure in international trade, inflation is 30 per cent.

"If we want to know the reason we need only look at the statistics on local demand, which fell by 5 per cent in 1984 and 3 per cent in 1985, yet rose by 8 per cent last year." This is an after-effect of the rise in wages and fall in savings mentioned above.

Sussman went on: "Since there is no way that I know of persuading households to save more at the present time, we have no choice but to change the budget. As Berglas says, it is no longer enough to balance it, a substantial surplus must be created of income over expenditure."

AMOS RUBIN, economic adviser to the prime minister, took issue with Sussman's recommendation that the gap between inflation in Israel and abroad should be bridged by devaluation. Rubin believes that wages and other costs are allowed to go up precisely because both employers and trade unions are confident that the companies giving the raise will be compensated by depreciation of the currency.

The prospect of depreciation precipitates inflation, whilst the act of devaluation is itself inflationary. Says Rubin: "A stable exchange-rate is the anchor we must cling to. If we throw that away we shall lose control over prices."

Avraham Agmon, head of the Delek Fuel Company (and former director-general of the Treasury) agreed with Rubin, adding that if the population expects devaluation it will not save. "Our problem is not to compensate exporters for higher costs. It is to prevent those higher costs from occurring, by reducing the rate of inflation to 5 per cent per annum or less."

Agmon added his voice to those of

the many economists who blame the budget for the country's ills. "It is not enough to balance the budget or create a budget surplus," Agmon said. "We have to reduce the volume of public expenditure as a percentage of the gross national product."

Not surprisingly, he too favours dropping the Lavi.

David Golomb of Koor suggested that budget outlays be cut by 4 per cent a year for three years; but that is not all. "When discussing whether to save \$400 million or \$500 m. every 12 months on the Lavi, we should not overlook the fact that in the 12 months of 1986 private consumption increased by four times as much or \$1.8 b., of which \$1 b. was imports."

There is a close connection between budget policy and wage policy, he admitted. "Big budgets create booms, during which employers can give and the workers want to take. The government must slash its expenditure first. Only then can it ask the negotiators of wage contracts to show moderation."

David Weinshall, head of Supersol (and formerly director-general of the Housing Ministry) pointed out that until recently banks supplied short-term credit and the government long-term loans. "Now the government has retired from providing long-term loans — and nobody is taking over the task." He thinks the banks should step into the breach, mobilizing long-term savings from

the public.

In summing up, Berglas drew Weinshall's attention to the fact that the banks hold \$12 b. of savings and long-term deposits. The trouble is that the government borrows \$10 b. of that, leaving little for the banks to invest. If the government reduced its borrowings appreciably, there would be enough money left with the banks to supply the country's long-term finance.

Concerning the Lavi one speaker drew attention to the fact that cancelling it would not necessarily save \$500 m. in expenditure, since the intention among army men is to use the money saved for other military expenditures.

"The Lavi should not have been started," Ya'acobi said in his concluding statement. "Now that enormous and costly development work has been put into it, however, a new situation is created."

"I have not yet decided what stand to take on the future of the plan, but I want to say this, that should we decide to cancel it, the money saved must not be allowed directly or indirectly to inflate private consumption."

"If the money does go for consumption then the mistake we shall have made in cancelling the plans will be greater than the original mistake made in launching the project at the beginning," the minister said.

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Cynical exercise

IT WAS RESPECT for Jewish religion, not any wish to score political points with the ultra-Orthodox parties, that had prompted him to approve the export of a large portion of the country's bumper wheat crop this *shmitta* year and import an equal amount of subsidized U.S. wheat, Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon told the Knesset with a straight face Wednesday afternoon.

Of all the trickster acts ever perpetrated on the Israel political stage, and they have been legion, this one must have taken the kosher biscuit.

That one of the country's most notorious lobster-guzzlers should publicly "rejoice in the growth of the number of those observing *shmitta*," is worse than a bad joke. It is an obscenity, especially when it is considered that in thus kowtowing to the ultra-Orthodox rabbinic and leadership Mr. Sharon has also cocked an ugly snook at the Chief Rabbinate, the official spokesman on matters of Jewish religion in Israel.

The great respecter of religion, Ariel Sharon, had not even bothered to inform the chief rabbis in advance of his decision, let alone consult with them. As though they had been Knesset members representing some secular opposition parties.

In the eyes of secularists, the biblical commandment to the Jews in the Land to leave lands untilled during the sabbatical year may have been rendered totally obsolete by the advent of modern fertilizers. Totally alien to any such profane thoughts, the chief rabbis simply reasoned that the country still could not bear the expense of a strict observance of the *shmitta* requirement. They thus reconfirmed the rabbinically-conceived practice, initiated decades ago already, of fictitiously, or symbolically, selling local Jewish land to Arabs for the duration of the *shmitta* year.

Ultra-Orthodox rabbis demurred, again, at this "liberal" reading of halacha, and ordered their small though growing flock to eschew any Jewish-Israeli wheat this year, no matter how high the expense — not to themselves, of course, but to the wheat growers, or to the Treasury.

In an effort to prove that the expense would, at worst, be minimal, the ultra-Orthodox, using American contacts, extracted a promise from the administration in Washington for a circular deal, whereby cheap subsidized U.S. wheat intended for Egypt would be sold to Israel, while Israel would sell its own grain at the same low price to the Egyptians. The deal was to cost Israel next to nothing. Before the government had an occasion to discuss it, Mr. Sharon okayed it.

While the industry minister was delivering the happy news to parliament, his colleague, Agriculture Minister Arye Nehamkin, was passing the word around that the implementation of the deal was already running into difficulties. Yesterday a radio report revealed that an internal Industry and Trade memo had estimated its cost to Israel, if implemented, at \$9.5 million.

Mill owners and bakers who have shown eagerness to accommodate the ultra-Orthodox have their own, economic reasons. They do not wish to lose any part of the ultra-Orthodox market, however tiny it may be. Besides, they would profit from the import of grain at the currently low world prices — and so, in some measure, would the ordinary customer.

But the Treasury, and thus the ordinary taxpayer, too, would still be saddled with the expense of compensating the wheat growers for the low prices their product would fetch if exported.

Such mundane calculations, however, are of no real concern to ultra-Orthodoxy. Its rabbis and leaders are not interested in arranging for the supply to their community of what they view as untainted bread and grain products this year, particularly not if this entails an extra expense to them. Their purpose is to shove their own fanatical version of halacha down Jewry's throat, and let the state which they barely deign to recognize, except at their convenience, foot the bill for it.

That this will do the opposite of increasing respect for Jewish religion is a safe enough bet. Whether Mr. Sharon's cynical exercise in courting ultra-Orthodoxy's favour by supporting it in the matter of the *shmitta* will benefit the Likud politically, remains to be seen.

On the side of reason

DOES GENUINE liberalism still have a fighting chance in the Israeli political arena?

The odds may seem against it. What goes by the name of the Israel Liberal Party is the shrunken rump of a once highly regarded middle-ground organization that has become but a pale shadow of its dominant partner, the right-wing nationalist Herut. The Democratic Movement for Change of recent memory, a hopeless grab-bag of liberal and pseudo-liberal ideas and personalities, stays on only in the shape of the tiny and internally embattled, intellectually distinguished, Shinui. The Independent Liberals are safely ensconced in the bosom of the Alignment, while some breakaway Liberals are dreaming of a new Liberal Centre that will gain some six or seven seats in the next Knesset.

The Independent Liberals have this week been searching for a possible independent future outside, yet alongside the Alignment, together with Shinui and the Liberal Centre. This is plainly the party's best bet if it does not wish to sooner or later completely disappear from the scene. The difficulties will doubtless be great: there are personality incompatibilities to take into account, as well as the ideological differences that divide the non-Liberal liberals. But the common ground is large enough — pursuit of peace of compromise, championship of the rule of law, defence of individual freedom, resistance to religious intolerance — to allow for the construction of a platform on which the present several liberal splinters could lock arms.

And there is a constituency which, while not nearly as large as the DMC's in 1977, is nevertheless large enough to send a team to the Knesset that will play a useful balancing role on the side of reason and decency.

Dehaishe camp not an island

YEHUDA LITANI

THE RECENT incident at the Dehaishe refugee camp last Saturday when a group of Kiryat Arba settlers went on the rampage was described by the OC Central Command General Amram Mitnits as "an abomination." Yet this was not the first attack on the refugee camp by Israeli settlers, nor the first clash between settlers and IDF soldiers in the West Bank.

What brought the incident to the forefront of public attention was mainly the IDF's distinct reaction to it, which was endorsed by the chief of general staff and the Minister of Defence.

Eleven years ago, a serious collision took place between the army and Israeli settlers from Kiryat Arba in Hebron. On Land Day (March 30, 1976) a group of settlers led by Rabbi Moshe Levinger disobeyed the orders of the IDF's local commanders and started shooting towards Arab houses. They broke through army road-blocks, "arrested" some Arab Hebron inhabitants and clashed with IDF soldiers several times.

Since then, there have been numerous incidents in which the Israeli settlers in the West Bank have come into conflict with the army. In Samaria, while attempting to start new settlements, Gush Emunim followers have confronted IDF soldiers tens — perhaps hundreds — of times, sometimes even violently.

Israelis who opposed these attempts described them as a case of the settlers "taking the law into their own hands." But which law precisely? The old biblical law of an eye for an eye, not Israeli law. Towards the end of the '70s and the beginning of the '80s, Israeli settlers and Kahane followers in the West Bank and in Jerusalem increasingly resorted to

what was called "vigilante" reprisal actions, and we witnessed the spawning underground that tried to kill Palestinian mayors and leaders and blow up the al-Aksa mosque.

The settlers hold that the IDF does not provide them with adequate security. They have repeatedly said that their lives are in danger in the West Bank and on the roads of the Gaza Strip because of what they term a "security lapse." The army, they claim, is not efficient, so sometimes they simply have to fill in for it.

"If the government has sent us here," they add, "and has decided that we should stay here — it has to provide us with proper security."

TO BE MORE PRECISE, at least up to the 1977 elections, most of the Israeli settlers forced themselves on the government — particularly Hebron and Kiryat Arba. Moreover, under the Likud government at the end of the '70s, the settlers — led by Moshe Levinger — twisted Menachem Begin's arm with respect to Jewish settlement inside the town of Hebron itself. The process by which the government gave in to the settlers in Hebron, and the Likud government approved their presence there was one of gradual surrender.

Many Israelis support Gush Emunim and their ideas about settling in the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. But many others oppose them. The nation is bitterly divided on the entire issue, and this is true also of Israel's citizen army which is charged with directly maintaining security in the territories. Soldiers

who oppose Gush Emunim's ideology are often forced, against their convictions, to safeguard the settlers in the West Bank.

Not only reservists, but also some of the IDF's regular officers and soldiers feel that Israel's real security problems lie near the borders and beyond, not within the borders. But in Israel of 1987 the situation could hardly be different. The Israel-Arab conflict is rapidly becoming an internal, rather than an external, one. Or, as Meron Benvenisti calls it — "an intercommunal strife." For the IDF, security in the West Bank now chiefly means safeguarding the main roads, protecting Israeli buses and preventing demonstrations rather than securing the borders and training the army for the next war. Some senior IDF officers would tell you privately that this new tendency (i.e., safeguarding the settlers instead of the borders) is a departure from the IDF's main purpose "but we have to obey the government."

THE DEHAISHE incident last Saturday, more than any thing else, symbolizes the transition from a concern with external security problems to "intercommunal strife." Many Israelis and perhaps also many Palestinians are not happy with this situation, but the extremists in both societies will force it on them.

This is the real price of the June 1967 victory: one cannot have one's cake and eat it too. If we want to continue the occupation of the territories for another 20 years, we have to be prepared for many more Dehaishe incidents. In 15 years from now, Palestinian Arabs will comprise over 45 per cent of the population. In 20 years from now, the ratio of Jews to Arab will be about 50:50. Unless a drastic change

occurs, the occupation will continue and along with it, the internal struggle between the two peoples.

The internal struggle just beginning. So far it has been confined to camps in the West Bank, but tomorrow it may spill over into Nablus, Gaza and Ramatallah — and then — who knows? Maybe to Jerusalem and other Israeli cities with mixed populations such as Haifa, Acre, Nazareth — the whole country.

The 1967 war put an end to two important processes: the integration of Israel's Arabs into Jewish society and the assimilation of many Jewish settlers in the West Bank inside Jordan. The Palestinian revival in the territories, in Israel and abroad really only started after 1967.

Here in Jerusalem we know better than elsewhere in Israel that the words "a united Jerusalem" are no more than a slogan. This city has become an important and vital part of the internal struggle between two peoples. We know that it could be rather dangerous to walk alone through the streets of the Old City, let alone send a child there.

Apart from the Palestinians who work in the western parts of Jerusalem, do we see them on our streets? Only when they pass on our roads from Bethlehem to East Jerusalem or from Ramallah to Hebron. As long as a political agreement between the two peoples remains elusive, this gap will widen and disunity will prevail in Jerusalem, in the territories and all over the country.

Dehaishe then is not an island; it is a symbol of what could happen here, almost everywhere, maybe not right now but in the near future.

The writer is The Jerusalem Post's Middle East editor.

READERS' LETTERS

THE NEW ENVOY TO WASHINGTON

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — Mr. Gideon Patt's criticism of Israel's new ambassador to Washington tells us more about the minister's knowledge of the foreign service than it does about Moshe Arad's qualifications for the post. Your editorial of June 8 damming with faint praise calls for a more subtle psychoanalysis than I can command.

Moshe Arad, whom I have known since he was press attaché in the London embassy nearly 20 years ago, is one of his country's most able career diplomats. He has held senior posts in both New York and Washington and was due to return

home this summer as deputy director-general for American affairs. This would have made him one of the most senior professionals in the Foreign Ministry, where he had previously served as assistant director-general responsible for information policy.

Arad begins with the advantage of knowing the American scene, political, media and Jewish. Up to now he has preferred to work by quiet persuasion. As ambassador, he will be required to project Israel's case more visibly. He deserves a chance to prove himself.

Jerusalem. ERIC SILVER

LOOKING FOR JAAP STEIN

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — My husband fought in the Royal Artillery during the last war. One of the villages they liberated was a little place called Beverwijk in Holland. Last year, the people of this village organized a reunion party for their liberators.

We have kept in touch and now one of the villagers has asked if we could help to find the present whereabouts of a small boy whom the resistance saved from the concentration camps.

His name was Simon Bornstein of Russian descent. The local nurse kept him safe during the German occupation, and papers were issued for him in the name of Jaap Stein. In 1945, he was reunited with an aunt and uncle (his parents and sister died

in the concentration camps). They went to live in Amsterdam, and he wrote to the nurse in Beverwijk regularly. Then he went to Israel, and suddenly the letters stopped. The lady who cared for him is a very frail 80-year-old who would dearly love to hear from him again. Her friends have contacted the Red Cross and all the normal channels in Israel, to no avail.

Does anyone know this man who would be in his fifties now? If they do, I would be very grateful if they would let me know, and delighted if we could put them in touch with each other.

A.E. SHAPIRO
Clatterford Lodge,
Ongar Road,
Fyfield, Essex, CMS ORD,
England.

A PRIVILEGE TO BE HERE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — In his letter of May 14, "Why Americans don't choose aliyah," Sol Moldoff explains why he returned to the U.S. and why more Americans don't come here: Israelis are rude, protekzia and bureaucracy are prevalent, Israel society is not pluralistic enough.

Moldoff's criticisms are valid, and one can add more. We have much to do to make Israel more beautiful, more efficient, more democratic, more secure, more humane. We are not as well run as Switzerland, as polite as England, as broad as Australia, as rich as America. So how do we compete? By offering a challenge.

As a former American, I share Moldoff's love and appreciation for the land of my birth. I left that wonderful land with regret, but with the conviction that, as a Jew, I would find most fulfillment in a Jewish homeland.

I expected to find crude living conditions here — and I did. I expected to encounter a lot of rough edges amongst a population that had recently gone through traumas — and I did. But I also expected to find a

people with common goals and a unity of purpose — and I did.

No, Mr. Moldoff, Israel is not only a haven for persecuted Jews. It is a place where Jewish culture is being renewed, where Hebrew is spoken in the streets, where Jews as part of the family of nations are contributing in art, science, industry, agriculture, medicine.

The Zionist message remains constant, though the forms change. For a Jew to take the big step and come here, he must have a sense of history, an awareness that we are living in a unique formative period. Today Jews — the pawns of history — have taken their fate in their own hands. The mainstream of Jewish life today is Israel. The action is here. It is a privilege to be here and participate.

Money and moral support are important, but they cannot replace dedicated people, and if enough Jews make the decision to come here, Israel will survive and thrive. If not, we will have wasted a golden opportunity and history will again judge us harshly.

EZRA YAHALOM
Nectanya.

THREAT TO HIGHER EDUCATION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — Those who love Israel ought to be distressed and alarmed at the government's perilous financial neglect of our educational institutions. At a time when Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia and Jordan are generously funding and modernizing their universities, the Knesset is apparently unmoved by the plight of Jerusalem's Hebrew University, which is threatened with closure next fall.

What has become of the Jewish nation's traditional regard for education?

ROY RUNDS
Tel Aviv.

ANTIQUITIES

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — News item on June 2: Turkey has filed suit against the Metropolitan Museum of New York for the return of a 2,600-year-old collection of gold and silver antique pieces. Should we not, then, sue the Istanbul Museum for the return of the 2,700-year-old Silem Inscription, removed from Hezekiah's tunnel during the Turkish occupation of Jerusalem?

MILTON J. KRAMER
Jerusalem.

AMERICAN JEWISH LEADERSHIP

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — Yosef Lapid ("Pollard, Shmollard" May 29), like Shlomo Avineri before him, misreads American Jewish reaction to the Pollard issue. Avineri's error was in assuming that American Jews were so critical because of fear of dual loyalty charges. Lapid's error is much the opposite: he assumes that American Jews aren't truly upset, after all.

Mr. Lapid is suffering from the bear-what-one-wants-to-hear syndrome. Yes, of course, there are individual Jews in America who feel Pollard did nothing wrong, that the community should have stood behind him and should have focused attention on the U.S. withholding information from Israel. But there are also individuals, the ones Mr. Avineri located, who chastised Israel and Pollard simply because of a galut mentality. Neither group, however, reflects the feelings of the

overwhelming majority of the community, that Pollard was a spy against America, pure and simple, and that the affair jeopardized the quality of relations between the U.S. and Israel.

Lapid resorts to an old argument to justify his assessment — that the Jewish leadership does not represent the people. It won't wash. That leadership, covering the entire spectrum of opinion, has been working with the people to mobilize support for Israel for 40 years and it has been successful. The leadership doesn't all of sudden become unrepresentative or not know what's going on.

The moral is not so surprising: just as Israelis know far better than American Jews what is going on in Israel, American Jews understand America far better than Israelis.

ABRAHAM H. FOXMAN
Associate National Director, ADL
New York.

OUTRAGEOUS TREATMENT

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — In view of the outrageous treatment meted out to him by his party, for his honesty and patriotism, Abba Eban must now surely realize what I discovered a long time ago, namely that "Anglo-Saxons"

are persona grata in Israel as long as they conform.

It was not always like that, but then our country was not always like this.

BERNARD HARRIS
Haifa.

A Time to Act

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There is an alternative to an "all or nothing" approach.
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